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THE MODEL CITIZEN

A SIMPLE EXPOSITION OF CIVIC RIGHTS
AND DUTIES, AND A DESCRIPTIVE
ACCOUNT OF BRITISH INSTITUTIONS
LOCAL, NATIONAL, AND IMPERIAL

BY

H. OSMAN NEWLAND, F.R Hist.S.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED & ENLARGED

BY

T. HUNTER DONALD, M.A., B.Sc.



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EDITOR'S PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

As citizenship is the state of being a citizen, its study is concerned with nearly every human activity and relationship. Under its head come the relations between employers and employed, parents and children, school teachers and parents, doctors and patients, housewives and provision merchants, and countless others. Indeed there is hardly an action any citizen can perform that does not affect his fellow citizens in some way or other. Hence it is clear that for the *study* of citizenship the chief qualifications are a good broad education, observation and experience; for the *practice* of good citizenship, the essentials are honesty, sympathy, and courage—summed up in our British sporting phrases “fair play” and “playing the game.”

No single book could possibly deal in detail with all aspects of citizenship. Many of the more advanced deal with single subjects such as housing problems, and the like; while many smaller volumes, such as the present one, cover a definite field comprising a number of aspects. This book aims at giving a simple, full, interesting, and accurate exposition of the rights and duties of the citizen; with a descriptive account of public institutions in their relation to the life of the individual and to the community. The main features of British Imperial citizenship are also sketched.

The new edition has been brought fully up to date to 1924. Extensive alterations have been made throughout, and several new introductory chapters written with

P R E F A C E

the object of showing the human race's inherent *need* for government, the development of customs into laws, and the manner in which we British have come to govern ourselves.

An important feature of this new edition is the collection of practical problems appearing at the end of each chapter. These are designed not only to test intelligent reading but also the reader's general knowledge and common sense.

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T. H. D.

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THE MODEL CITIZEN

SECTION I

CHAPTER I

THE NEED FOR GOVERNMENT

To many people the desire has come at some time or other to "run away," in order to escape from laws and orders and penalties. They feel that there are so many restrictions on their liberty, so many duties they are compelled to perform, and will have to continue to perform, that they long for a life of seclusion where no one will interfere with them in any way. Probably they do not ask themselves if they would be better off, or worse. Let us ask the question and answer it for them.

To what part of their own country, or of any other country, would they flee, hoping to escape from government? Let us suppose a person retires to a hidden cave on the seashore to spend his existence there. How will he obtain the necessary food to eat, and the clothes to keep him warm? If his requirements were extremely modest he might possibly scrape a bare existence by fishing, but even then it is more than likely that a Government coast-guard would search him out and require from him an account of why he was there and of what he was doing. Should he try the depths of a forest, the forest rangers will find him sooner or later and keep watchful eyes on his movements. What if he tries the tropical jungles overseas? There he will have to be always on

his guard against attack by wild animals, against fever, sunstroke, and such other evils as are prevalent there. If he escapes all these, he will probably encounter savages, who, if they do not kill and eat him, will take him prisoner.

Should he decide to go to a foreign civilized country, he will find that he is just as much bound to obey its laws as he was at home, while he does not enjoy so many privileges ; finally, he will most likely come to realize that he prefers the laws of his own country to those of any other, and that he was a fool ever to leave it.

Mankind's Community Instinct

Man is said to have a gregarious instinct (Latin, *grex*, a flock, or herd) ; that is, human beings naturally come together into groups or communities. If existence is to be possible at all, these communities must be organized. Try to imagine several hundreds of primitive people without leaders ; to us, accustomed from our earliest youth to the fact of leadership, the idea is inconceivable. How would such people come to a decision to make war, or peace, or to strengthen their defences, or to do anything requiring joint effort ? The first man among them who suggests the idea of erecting a stockade round the camp is a leader. That is the beginning of government.

Wherever explorers have found savages, they have observed that even the most ignorant tribes have a system of government. There is a king, a chief, or a headman, whose influence is very powerful, and he is usually assisted in his ruling by some sort of a council, which is composed of the older and more experienced men of the village. The savage, being very ignorant, is also very superstitious, and believes in the existence of many spirits, some of which have the power to help the tribe and others to bring disaster to it. They think that there are certain actions

that displease certain spirits, and such actions are *taboo*, or forbidden. Should a member of the tribe be detected in breaking the law of *taboo*, he is punished according to the seriousness of his wrong-doing; and if this is considered likely to give very great offence to the spirit-gods, he will be sentenced to death. These people have



A GATHERING OF NATIVES IN THE HEART OF AFRICA

It is evident that, even here, there is a system of discipline

also a great many restrictions which, to an European, seem very peculiar. Thus, a man of the Snake tribe must not marry a woman of the same tribe, although they are related to each other in kinship.

As we ascend the scale of civilization, from the savage to the barbaric state, we find that there is still a system of government, and that this has improved. As a result of the growth of knowledge, the community laws are wiser and have taken the place of many of the superstitions

of the more primitive peoples. With the development of agriculture, the making of implements, household utensils, and so on, there is introduced a new conception of *property*. The only possessions of the savage are his hunting weapons and his few personal ornaments, which he always carries ; but when men began to collect herds and grow crops and fashion many useful as well as ornamental objects for their households, it became necessary to frame laws to protect such property against thieves, and to devise punishments for breaches of the property laws. These laws arose from the common wish of the honest majority, and our property laws of to-day have arisen in the same way.

The development of the law which aims at checking the taking of human life is interesting. When a savage murders another of his tribe, it is the affair of the murdered man's relatives to take vengeance on the murderer. Should he escape, they consider the next best thing is to annihilate his nearest relatives ; and if the latter do not feel sufficiently confident of their fighting powers, they take to their heels out of reach. This is the origin of the blood-feud, which is still to be found in civilized countries, such as Corsica and other places in the Mediterranean. Punishment of murder was not then a community duty ; but as the moral qualities of a people improved, they realized that justice would be done better and more surely if the whole tribe became responsible for the trial and punishment of murderers. This principle became extended to a great variety of offences, until, as it is to-day in our own country, a man is expressly forbidden to take the law into his own hands, and to punish murder by murder, theft by theft, and assault by assault.

The Advantages of Community Life

It will thus be seen that, by banding themselves into communities, men secure a double advantage. The

community gains in strength, wisdom, and the general prosperity that results from co-operation, and especially from "division of labour." Some persons with a natural liking or gift for making certain kinds of implements specialize in that line, and others undertake other kinds of work. Better things and many more of them are thus produced, and everyone benefits. The cobbler exchanges a pair of the boots he has made for so much corn which the farmer has grown, and the tailor similarly trades his suits of clothes for other necessities of equal value. If the farmer cheats the cobbler, the latter appeals to the law, which compels the former to act honestly or punishes him.

It is not, however, only in these matters of the chief necessities of life that people benefit through the community. The larger the number of people who live and associate with each other, the greater chance there is for the development of what may be called the "arts and pleasures of life." Amongst these are music, sports, useful and ornamental crafts, and many others that contribute greatly to the enjoyment of leisure hours. These could not possibly have grown as they have done without the community spirit.

Every member of a community enjoys certain rights and owes certain duties. In return for the protection of his life and property, and the many privileges for which he has to thank his "government," he must obey the recognized laws of the land he lives in. Unfortunately, there are too many people who are very energetic in fighting for their "rights," and who are quite ready to shirk their duties. This is quite clearly a dishonest attitude to take up.

It would be interesting to trace in detail the development of government through the ages, but this is a very wide subject requiring a great deal of study and research.

We may, however, set down here a few of the main points.

The Origin of Leadership

It has been already mentioned that even a savage tribe has government, and the head of the tribe is the chief or king. In many cases he would attain to his kingship through his own personal qualities, such as courage, strength, iron purpose, and the like, just as a born leader usually asserts himself in a rabble of boys playing in a rough and tumble fashion with a football, and makes an organized game out of horse-play.

Thus, also, if a king has councillors, they are chosen for their experience and ability to advise and direct for the common good of the tribe. In primitive life the chief's word is law. He is a monarch, or despot, in the fullest sense.

It happens occasionally that, as a chief passes his prime of life, he will lose some of those striking qualifications for kingship, while other men of the tribe are just becoming prominent, and there may be a sudden revolution ending in the dethronement of the old chief and in the succession of a new one. In some tribes, again, the eldest son of the chief succeeds his father; in others, the oldest surviving relative on the father's male side succeeds; while in still other tribes the successor is the oldest surviving relative on the chief's mother's side.

Origin of the "Working Classes"

When a tribe increases in numbers and has made sufficient progress in commerce, arts and crafts, military matters, and the like, to warrant being called a state or nation, it will either attack or be attacked by some other nation. One suggested reason for such conflicts may lie deep in the nature of mankind, and has been called "man's



NATIVE CHIEFS OF EAST AFRICA ASSEMBLED AS A COURT IN
THEIR KING'S VILLAGE

necessity for warfare" ; in any case the obvious results are that the conquerors lay waste their enemies' territory, carry away their portable possessions, and frequently also take back many of the inhabitants as slaves. Thus it comes about that a population which was once composed of social equals, is now divided into two socially unequal parts, the freemen and the slaves. The latter are set to till the land and to other menial work. Their children, if they have any, are also slaves.

This is the beginning of the "labour question" ; formerly such a problem did not exist, for all worked equally or nearly so. There would follow a complication due to the military successes of the nation's generals. They are welcomed frantically when they return from their campaigns with trains of captives, and state honours are showered upon them. They are not slow to seize political power, and they enrich themselves and their friends with conquered lands and other treasure. This is *the rise of militarism*, and the division of the population is now into the military class and the labouring class.

Assuming that this nation continues to make successful warfare, and adds to its territory, let us see what happens to the land. It is tilled by the labouring class, but, unlike the early tribal communal land, it does not belong to them. It is usually the *property* of the king, or of his favourite barons. The king himself, no longer able to come into touch with all his subjects, appoints ministers to carry out his duties in various parts of the land, and the king's word, spoken through his ministers, is still the law ; the people obey it, but have no share in its making. The king is still an absolute monarch.

It is a long time before the people become roused to demand a share in making the laws, but, as history shows, that event did indeed arrive in our own country and in many others besides. When the people have the right to

vote and to send representatives to the assembly where the national laws are made, the power of the king is correspondingly limited, and the system of government is called a "limited monarchy."

Various Kinds of Government

This is the type of the government of our own country. Members of Parliament cannot of their own responsibility make laws ; they cannot even meet in Parliament without being summoned by the king, nor can they discontinue meeting until Parliament is dissolved by him. An Act of Parliament, before it becomes law, must receive the royal assent. This power of the king, however, is nowadays more apparent than real. In all such public matters he acts on the advice of his ministers and, although he undoubtedly has the *right* to refuse his assent to an Act of Parliament, and even to make war on a foreign nation on his own responsibility and initiative, such actions would be viewed with incredulous amazement not only by the British people but by the whole of the civilized world.

There are many ways, however, in which the king is of immense help to the country ; these will be described in a later chapter.

There is still a further development of the rule of the people, or democracy (Greek, *demos*, the people, and *kratē*, rule) which is seen in a republic. Here there is no king. The head of the state is a president, who is elected by popular vote, and who holds his office for a number of years. At the end of this period there is another presidential election, at which the retiring president may usually stand as a candidate if he so wishes. The people thus have the power of choosing their own head of state. The president of a republic is not, however, in any sense a despot. The laws of the country are made by the body of elected members that corresponds to our own House of

Commons. It is interesting to note that, out of sixty-five of the most important countries of the world to-day, thirty-five are republics, while the remainder retain a monarchical type of government, mostly in the form of a limited monarchy. This shows very clearly that the power of the people to govern themselves is not confined to the British Isles but is widespread throughout the world.

NOTES

Citizen, from Latin *civitas*, a state : a member of a state.

Community, from Latin *communis*, common ; a group of people living together and having common interests.

Citizens' Rights and Duties. Certain rights and duties are obvious, but others are not quite so clearly evident. For example, it is plain that no citizen has any right to throw a pailful of potato peelings from his window to the pavement, because—

1. They might hurt someone passing.
2. It is against the laws of health.
3. Potato peelings on the pavement are unsightly.
4. Although he wants to get rid of them, there is a proper method of doing so.

Similarly, we all know that no one has a right to take any property that rightfully belongs to someone else. You may not know, however, that a policeman is entitled to demand any citizen's assistance to quell a street fight or riot, and that refusal to help may be followed by a fine or even by imprisonment. Again, a person suffering from infectious disease is bound by law to inform the local health authorities, who then take steps to help in the cure of the patient, and to check the spread of the disease to others.

There is another large class of social or citizen duties which do not amount to legal obligations. There is no law compelling anyone to assist a person hurt in a street accident, yet it is clearly a "moral" duty to render help in such a case.

Government. This word is derived from the Latin *governator*, the steersman or pilot of a ship. The same idea is evident in the expression "the helm of state."

PROBLEMS

1. If you have ever voted for anyone, at school or elsewhere, write down the reason why you voted in the way you did.

2. Is it always wise to elect as captain the best bowler in a cricket team or the best goal-scorer in a net-ball team ? Whether you think "Yes" or "No," say why you think so.

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3. Make a list of all the cases you know of where either grown-up people or boys and girls choose representatives by voting.

4. Say what you think would happen if a cricket team without a leader played another team. Also suggest some likely events if all the government and laws of this country were suddenly swept away.

5. Which of the following duties are we compelled to perform by law, and which are usually carried out from a sense of right only ? Say in each case why it is necessary or advisable to perform them—

To pay taxes.

To guide a blind person across a street.

To go to school.

To inform the police that a suspicious looking person has entered a house whose occupiers you know are on holiday.

To carry lighted lamps on a motor-car at night.

CHAPTER II

HOW THE LAW GREW UP

ALTHOUGH there were laws in Britain before the coming of the Saxons, those were either greatly changed or entirely superseded after the Saxon conquest, so that we may pick up the history of our English law at that point. Starting about the year A.D. 450 the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons came across from Northern Europe to Britain in successive waves of invasion for a period of a hundred and fifty years, and gradually drove the Britons into the West and South-west (the parts now known as Wales and Devon and Cornwall). For several centuries these invaders fought among themselves, and gradually formed separate divisions.

The laws that these people brought with them from their respective countries were not written, but *customary*; and as many tribes took part in the invasion and conquest, each with its own customs, it is not surprising that the law in Saxon times was far from uniform. Thus, until one set of laws was made applicable throughout the country, in the time of William the Conqueror, the same act might be accounted a crime in Lancashire and harmless in Essex.

The law was administered in the various local courts, called the *shire-moot* (Anglo-Saxon *moot*, a meeting), the *hundred-moot*, and the *town-moot*, each presided over by its *reeve*, or principal officer; these were the courts respectively of the shires, the hundreds, and the towns or boroughs, into which the country was divided for purposes of government. The principal legal disputes were settled in the *shire-moot*, under the *shire-reeve*, from which name



From the Cartoon by

KING ALFRED AND HIS WITAN

John Bridges

is derived the title *sheriff*. Church matters, as well as civil and criminal cases, were decided in this court, and frequently the bishop accompanied the sheriff to assist him in his work. If a person was not satisfied with the finding of the court, he had the privilege in certain cases of appealing to the Witan (council of wise men) or to the king.

Old Methods of Trial and Punishment

Methods of trial were very curious in these times. A man accused of a crime, or sued in a civil action, had to bring twelve men of his "hundred" to swear that they believed his account of the case. This method was called *compurgation* or *wager of law*. In actions of debt this mode of trial was not abolished till 1833. When the accused man was unable to bring his twelve witnesses, he was given *trial by ordeal*; that is, after swearing he was innocent, he had to go through one of several tests, such as plunging his arm into boiling water, grasping a red-hot iron, or walking barefoot over heated ploughshares. The injured limbs were then anointed with holy oil and bound up by the priests. If, after three days, the scars were found to have healed, the accused was pronounced not guilty; but if not, he was accounted guilty and punished. It would seem that in this mode of trial a strong constitution was of much greater importance than a clear conscience!

Punishments usually took the form of fines, although Alfred the Great made death the penalty for treason. A certain money value was placed on the life of every man, according to his rank, and a murderer had to pay this sum as compensation to his victim's relatives.

Early Reforms

Many attempts were made by Anglo-Saxon kings to establish order and system in the law of the country, and

with this purpose in view they drew up *dooms*, or codes, the most important being those of Alfred the Great and Edgar the Peaceable.

The following extract from Stubb's *Select Charters*¹ conveys a better impression than any modern literature could of early methods of government—

“ A.D. 959-975. *Edgar. This is the Ordinance how the Hundred shall be held.*

“ 1. First, that they meet always within four weeks, and that every man do justice to another.

“ 2. That a thief shall be pursued. If there be present need, let it be made known to the hundredman, and let him make it known to the tithingmen; and let all go forth to where God may direct them to go. Let them do justice on the thief, as it was formerly the enactment of Edmund. And let the ‘ceapgild’ be paid to him who owns the cattle, and the rest to be divided into two: half to the hundred, half to the lord, excepting men, and let the lord take possession of the men.

“ 3. And the man who neglects this, and denies the doom of the hundred, and the same be afterwards proved against him, let him pay to the hundred XXX pence, and for the second time LX pence, half to the hundred, half to the lord. If he do so a third time, let him pay half a pound, for the fourth time, let him forfeit all he owns, and be an outlaw, unless the King allow him to remain in the country.

“ 4. As we have ordained, concerning unknown cattle, that no one should possess it without the testimonies of the man of the hundred, or of the tithingman, and that he be a well trusty man; and unless he have either of these, let no vouching to warranty (team) be allowed him.

“ 5. We have also ordained, if the hundred pursue a track into another hundred, that notice be given to the hundredman, and that he then go with them. If he neglect this, let him pay XXX shillings to the King.

“ 6. If anyone flinch from justice and escape, let him who held him to answer for the offence pay the ‘angylde.’ And if any accuse him of having sent him away, let him clear himself, as it is established in the country.

“ 7. In the hundred, as in any other ‘gemot,’ we ordain that folk-right be pronounced in every suit, and that a term be fixed when it shall be fulfilled. And he who shall break that term, unless

¹ By kind permission of the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

it be by his lord's decree, let him make 'bot' with XXX shillings, and on the day fixed fulfil that which he ought to have done before.

"8. An ox's bell, a dog's collar, and a blast-horn—either of these three shall be worth a shilling, and each is reckoned an informer.

"9. Let the iron that is for the threefold ordeal weigh III pounds, and for the single one pound."

Government Under William the Conqueror

In these days there was no such feeling of patriotism as exists at the present time. Each man's interests were limited to his own hundred, or shire, and he neither knew nor cared much what happened elsewhere. Such was the state of affairs that William the Norman Conqueror found in England when he became king. Besides being an able soldier, William was a great statesman, and it was clear to him that the country needed a system of law which should be the same in every shire.

In the early days of England, when at any moment the Danes might land in Kent or Suffolk to lay waste the country, government by a large body of men, such as a Parliament, would have been impossible. The English, ever in fear of invasion, looked rather for a military leader, in whom they should have confidence to lead them into battle, than for gentlemen who could frame good laws, but who could neither enforce these nor protect themselves against invaders. But who was to choose such a military leader to be king? This was, in Anglo-Saxon times, the work of the *Witenagemot*, the "moot" or meeting of the *Witan* (wise men), a body which forbade the kings to encroach on the ancient liberties of the English people.

Although very unlike our Parliament of to-day, the *Witan* had great powers in making appointments to offices of state and in making peace and war, as well as in levying taxes, such as the *Danegeld*, with which the

English bribed the Danish invaders to go away and leave them in peace. It helped the king to collect the old laws and to make new ones—such as those that were made to check the sale of Englishmen as slaves to foreigners, and to settle how many shillings must be paid to atone for robbery and even for murder. The Witenagemot is of exceptional interest, because it was a more powerful body than Parliament became for centuries after the Norman Conquest. Its powers of choosing kings was very real. If the eldest son of a late king was well qualified to succeed, he would usually be appointed ; but if he were a child or a man of poor accomplishments, the Witan would not hesitate to pass him over, and sometimes their choice fell outside the royal family altogether. The Witan numbered about one hundred, and they were mostly great men of court, church, or state.

After William had been elected king by the Witenagemot, he straightway set about altering its constitution and powers. The Conqueror naturally wished to govern the country himself without having to consult an assembly. He replaced the Witan, therefore, with a great feudal gathering of the chief barons and officers of state, which he called the Great Council, or *Curia Regis*. This assembly he called together when it pleased him : sometimes for no more serious purpose than to impress its members, and especially the ambassadors from other countries, with the greatness of his wealth and power ; chiefly, it has been said, to win its consent to a grant of taxes—for without the help of the great barons, bishops and abbots, it was impossible for the king to collect money from the people ; sometimes to proclaim a new law ; at other times to help him to decide an important law suit, or to ferret out some information he wanted concerning his country.

One of the means employed by William for collecting detailed information about the people and their possessions

was the *Doomsday Book*. This was compiled after William had engaged in "mickle thought and deep speech with his Witan how this land was set and with what men."

The following extract from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* of 1085 (translated by Giles in *Bohn's Library*),¹ shows the nature and extent of this great survey—

"A. 1085. After this the King had a great consultation, and spoke very deeply with his witan concerning this land, how it was held, and what were its tenantry. He then sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides of land it contained, and what lands the King possessed therein, what cattle there were in the several counties, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each. He also caused them to write down how much land belonged to his archbishops, to his bishops, his abbots, and his earls, and, that I may be brief, what property every inhabitant of all England possessed in land or in cattle, and how much money this was worth. So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made, that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, not—it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do—was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by, and that was not set down in the accounts, and then all these writings were brought to him."

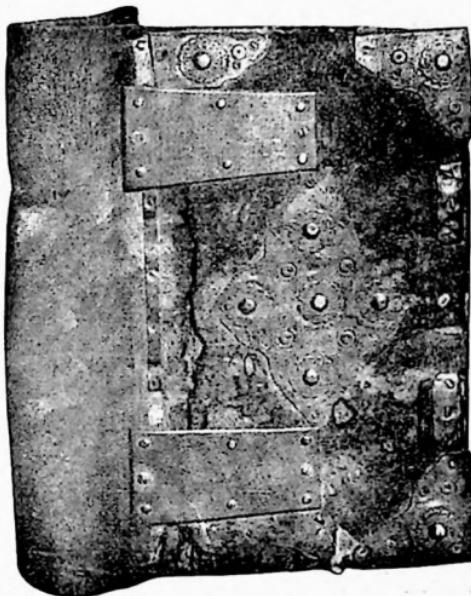
Another extract from the *Doomsday Book* itself (translated from the Latin) shows with what minuteness the official inquirers did their work—

"The same earl holds Hiham. Godwin held it. In the time of King Edward there were two hides and a half, but it was taxed as two hides, as they say, and now at two. There is land for sixteen ploughs. In demesne is one, and thirty villeins and ten borders with nineteen ploughs. There are six acres of meadow and wood for two hogs. In the time of King Edward it was worth 100 shillings, now six pounds. It has been waste."

Of *Doomsday Book* the English complained bitterly that "not a horse, nor an ox, nor a swine was left that was not set in his writ."

¹ By kind permission of Messrs. George Bell & Sons.

The Great Council, or *Curia Regis*, still had as its highest task the choosing of the new king, though its freedom of choice was lessened as time went on. It was a court composed of various branches, one of which devoted itself to the law. Thus, for the first time, there came into existence a King's Law Court, which could try all cases.



OLD COVER OF DOOMSDAY BOOK

The old courts, the shire-moot, the hundred-moot, and the town-moot still continued, but members of the *Curia Regis* were sometimes sent down to sit in the shire-moots, and the knowledge, influence, and power of these delegates had a great effect in making the customs of the country uniform.

Those of the people who had disputes to settle often preferred to go direct to the King's Court, for they believed

they had a better chance of being dealt with justly than at the local courts.

New Methods of Trial

The law of crime during the Norman period was simple. There were fewer crimes than there are to-day, probably because there were fewer possibilities of committing crime. Life was simple, and commerce comparatively unknown. The law relating to murder, manslaughter, assault, robbery, and theft was practically the same as it is to-day : but instead of the old punishment by fines, the death penalty was inflicted for many offences which would, nowadays, be considered trivial, and horrible methods of mutilation were introduced.

Between 1066 and 1300 great changes took place in the modes of trial. In Saxon times, a person made his complaint against another by word of mouth, and a message was sent to the alleged offender to appear in court. One can imagine that many genuine mistakes would occur under this system, and that if a person so summoned were unwilling to attend, he would take care to misunderstand the message. The *writ*, introduced by the Normans, was an improvement on the former method. The writ was a command in writing, sent in the king's name, to attend at the court, and bearing a statement of the question to be tried. In this way, not only was the attendance of the defendant ensured, but he was informed beforehand of the charge about to be brought against him.

In time, the systems of *trial by ordeal* and *compurgation* fell into disuse, and their places were taken by *wager of battle* and *trial by jury*. The former dates from the Norman Conquest, and must have been as unsatisfactory as the trial by ordeal. When a man was accused of murder or manslaughter, any blood relation of the victim could "appeal" to the slayer, who might then challenge his



THE FIRST TRIAL BY JURY

accuser to fight. If this was declined the accused went free. If the fight took place it usually began at sunrise, and the combatants fought on until "the stars appeared in the evening," unless one had been previously disabled. If the accused man won, he was released, and his accuser was fined; if he lost, and still lived, he was hanged. This mode of trial lasted for several centuries, and then was gradually forgotten. It was last used in 1817, and was done away with in 1819 by a special Act of Parliament.

Trial by jury was of gradual growth, and its history is very uncertain. It is clear, however, that it was introduced as a means of deciding which of two contending parties was speaking the truth. This was formerly decided, as has been shown, by the ordeal; but when the ordeal was abolished, it became the practice to call in men from the neighbourhood to give a verdict for one side or the other. The unanimous verdict of twelve men had to be obtained. It is most probable that the jurymen were at first witnesses, who acted on their own knowledge and impressions. If more than twelve were present, the verdict of the requisite twelve was arrived at partly from personal knowledge and partly from the evidence of the others. Later, however, it came to be considered that jurymen should be independent, and consider only the evidence brought before them by witnesses. The growth of this practice, which still remains to-day, took a long time to establish, and it was not finally settled until the reign of George I, early in the eighteenth century.

The prison system was introduced by Henry II (1154-1189), who ordered that every county should have a gaol. The conditions prevailing in these early prisons were of the most revolting kind, although in the latter part of the eighteenth century also they were notably bad, and provoked spirited attacks from many reformers. The noble

work of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry did much to alter the treatment of criminals ; formerly this consisted of organized cruelty, whereas to-day one of the chief aims is the reform of prisoners.

The Magna Charta

In 1215 there was drawn up that great English document the Magna Charta, which is rightly described as the



THE BARONS OF ENGLAND TAKING OATH TO COMPEL JOHN TO
GRANT THE CHARTER

Charter of English Liberty. It was the tyranny of King John in taxing the people contrary to custom that led the barons to draw up the Great Charter, which consisted of rules for assembling the Parliament, or Common Council, of the realm. This is a great landmark in the history of Parliament. By the terms of the charter, when a special

tax was required, the king had to send a summons to each of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls and greater barons, as well as all tenants holding their lands directly from himself, giving them forty days' notice, and explaining the purpose of the meeting. The adoption of this procedure effectively put a stop to the king's levying taxes when he liked. It is noteworthy that the people to be summoned in this way by the king were of the so-called "upper classes," and that no account was taken of the middle classes which, in our own time, form the backbone of Parliament, that is, the deputies sent by the towns and counties.

So important is the Great Charter in the history of our Parliament that some of its chief clauses are given below, in order to suggest, by means of the proposed reforms, the evils that they were designed to cure.

SOME OF THE CHIEF CLAUSES OF THE MAGNA CHARTA

*From ¹ Pennsylvania University "Translations
and Reprints," Vol. I, No. 6*

"John, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciars, foresters, sheriffs, reeves, servants, and all bailiffs and to his faithful people, greeting :

"Know that by the suggestion of God and for the good of our soul and of those of all our predecessors and of our heirs, to the honour of God and the exaltation of holy Church, and for the improvement of our kingdom, by the advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and cardinal of the holy Roman Church.

"1. In the first place, we have granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed for us and our heirs forever, that the English church shall be free, and shall hold its rights entire and its liberties uninjured ; and that we will that it should thus be observed is shown by this : that the freedom of elections, which is considered to be most important and especially necessary to the English church, we, of our pure and spontaneous will, granted, and by our charter confirmed, before the contest between us and our barons had arisen ; and we obtained a confirmation of it by the

¹ By kind permission through Messrs. Longmans Green & Co.

lord pope Innocent III, which we will observe, and which we will shall be observed in good faith by our heirs forever.

" We have granted, moreover, to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs forever, all the liberties written below, to be had and holden by themselves and their heirs from us and our heirs.

" 2. If any of our earls or barons, or others holding from us in chief by military service, shall have died, and when he has died his heir shall be of full age and owe relief, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief ; that is to say, the heir or heirs of an earl, for the whole barony of an earl, a hundred pounds ; the heir or heirs of a baron, for a whole barony, a hundred pounds ; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, a hundred shillings at most ; and who owes less, let him give less, according to the ancient custom of fiefs.

" 12. No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom save by the common council of our kingdom, except for the ransoming of our body, for the making of our oldest son a knight, and for once marrying our oldest daughter ; and for these purposes it shall be only a reasonable aid ; in the same way it shall be done concerning the aids of the city of London.

" 13. And the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water. Moreover we will and grant that all other cities and boroughs and villages and ports shall have all their liberties and free customs.

" 14. And for holding a common council of the kingdom concerning the assessment of an aid otherwise than in the three cases mentioned above, or concerning the assessment of a scutage, we shall cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons by our letters under seal ; and, besides, we shall cause to be summoned generally, by our sheriff and bailiffs, all those who hold from us in chief, for a certain day, at the end of at least forty days, and for a certain place, and in all the letters of that summons we will state the cause of the summons, and when the summons has thus been given the business shall proceed on the appointed day, on the advice of those who shall be present, even if not all of those who were summoned have come.

" 28. No constable or other bailiff of ours shall take anyone's grain or other chattels without immediately paying for them in money, unless he is able to obtain a postponement at the goodwill of the seller.

" 30. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or anyone else, shall take horses or wagons of any free man, for carrying purposes, except on the permission of that free man.

" 39. No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way injured, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

" 40. To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay, right or justice.

" 41. All merchants shall be safe and secure in going out from England and coming into England, and in remaining and going through England, as well by land as by water, for buying and selling, free from all evil tolls, by the ancient and rightful customs, except in time of war, or if they are of a land at war with us ; and if such are found in our land at the beginning of war, they shall be attached without injury to their bodies or goods, until it shall be known from us, or from our principal justiciar, in what way the merchants of our land are treated who shall be then found in the country which is at war with us, and if ours are safe there, the others shall be safe in our land.

" 63. It has been sworn, moreover, as well on our part as on the part of the barons, that all these things spoken of above shall be observed in good faith and without any evil intent. Witness the above-named and many others. Given by our hand in the meadow which is called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, on the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign."

*S*icut liber homo caput n*on* raplone*re* aut
dilux*re* aut dilag*re* aut exal*re* aut ali*q*modo
defici*re* ne*re* lip*re* eina ib*re* nec*re* p*re* eum m*u*ltum
w*it* p*legale* iud*icem* par*um* h*u*oz*re* ut*re* leg*em* terr*re*.

CLAUSE 39 OF MAGNA CHARTA (IN LATIN)

The Habeas Corpus Act

Another important landmark in the improvement of the law was the passing of the *Habeas Corpus Act* in 1679. English criminal law has always been noted for its fairness to prisoners, as compared with the criminal laws of other countries ; and the writ of *Habeas Corpus* dated as far back as *Magna Charta*,

The translation of the Latin *Habeas Corpus* is *You have the right to claim this person*; and when such a writ was issued, a jailer was bound to produce his prisoner before the court and to state his offence. The old law had been continually evaded by judges and jailers, and persons had remained untried in prison for years. The new law, however, provided such severe penalties against all who should hinder the course of justice that from that time onwards the writ of *Habeas Corpus* became a very real bulwark of liberty.

Until 1700 the judges were liable to be removed from office by the king if they did not please him. It was clear that, being only human, many of them might through fear of the king's displeasure give judgments calculated to satisfy him but not the cause of justice. When, therefore, the *Act of Settlement* was passed, it was decreed that judges should hold their offices for life, subject to their good behaviour, and that they should not be removed unless both Houses of Parliament submitted to the king an unfavourable report concerning them.

To us living in the twentieth century it seems incredible that scarcely more than a hundred years ago the death penalty was inflicted for a multitude of offences. In fact, between 1688 and 1820, one hundred and eighty-seven new offences were added to the Statute Book for which the punishment was hanging. Active reform against this hideous state of affairs had already begun towards the end of the seventeenth century, and by the time Queen Victoria came to the throne, in 1837, almost all the statutes involving the death penalty had been abolished. The more humane treatment of prisoners greatly improved the administration of the law, for when it was otherwise juries were reluctant to convict, while the uncertainty of punishment encouraged criminals.

The law has changed very little in the past centuries.

Its main principles were settled early in the country's history, and the alterations that have been made are chiefly the results of the development of the nation's activities. It is much more intricate and detailed than it was, and this is due to the many Acts of Parliament that are passed every year to meet the needs of every class. But while the law grows in quantity, its quality remains the same.

NOTE

Feudal System. A feud (not to be confused with the same word meaning *a quarrel*) was an estate of land held by a tenant on account of service; or, the right of a tenant or vassal to the use of the land of his lord, on condition of his giving military service to his lord in return, if required. The *feudal system* was thus an arrangement by which the holding of estates in land was dependent on an obligation to give military service to the king or feudal lord.

PROBLEMS

1. What do you think were William's chief reasons for compiling the *Doomsday Book*?
2. Are similar details of private land and other property collected to-day? If so, how is this done, and for what purpose?
3. In trial by jury and in the old Saxon wager of law, twelve men were concerned. Explain how their duties differed in the two cases.
4. What were some of the advantages and some of the disadvantages (*to the people*) of the feudal system?
5. In what respects did the "Curia Regis" differ from the "Witan"?
6. Write your own opinion of the methods of trial known as "trial by ordeal" and "wager of battle," and say whether you think it likely that proper justice was carried out by these methods.
7. Give an account of how trial by jury came to be established.
8. Write your interpretation of the picture, "The First Trial by Jury," on p. 21.
9. Why is the Magna Charta called the Great Charter of English Liberty?
10. What do you consider was the effect on people of being threatened with the death penalty for hundreds of offences against the law about 1800?
11. Write a short article on the prison conditions of over one hundred years ago, using any information you may have obtained from books you have read.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT

THE British Parliament has been for many centuries the model for other nations who have freed themselves from despotism and have determined to govern themselves. As an instance of this it is remarkable that the Japanese constitution contains words copied from our own *Magna Charta*.

Mention has already been made of the work of the Saxon Witenagemot, which was replaced after the Norman Conquest by the Great Council. These two institutions, together with the *Magna Charta*, which marked the deliverance of the English people from tyrannous oppression, laid the foundations of our modern Parliament. By this Charter the king was compelled to summon a large number of the powerful people in the land to discuss all questions of new taxation. The common people were not represented in this gathering ; and it was not until 1265, fifty years after *Magna Charta*, that the first representative English Parliament was summoned by the Earl Simon de Montfort. This was called the "Great" Parliament because in it, for the first time in our history, deputies from the shires, cities and boroughs, who might be truly said to represent the people, sat side by side with the barons and ecclesiastics who had until then constituted Parliament.

In 1295 the first complete and model Parliament of the three estates was summoned ; that is, of the Lords Spiritual (archbishops and bishops), the Lords Temporal (earls and barons), and the Commons. Here was, at last, a body that could discuss the interests of all classes of the

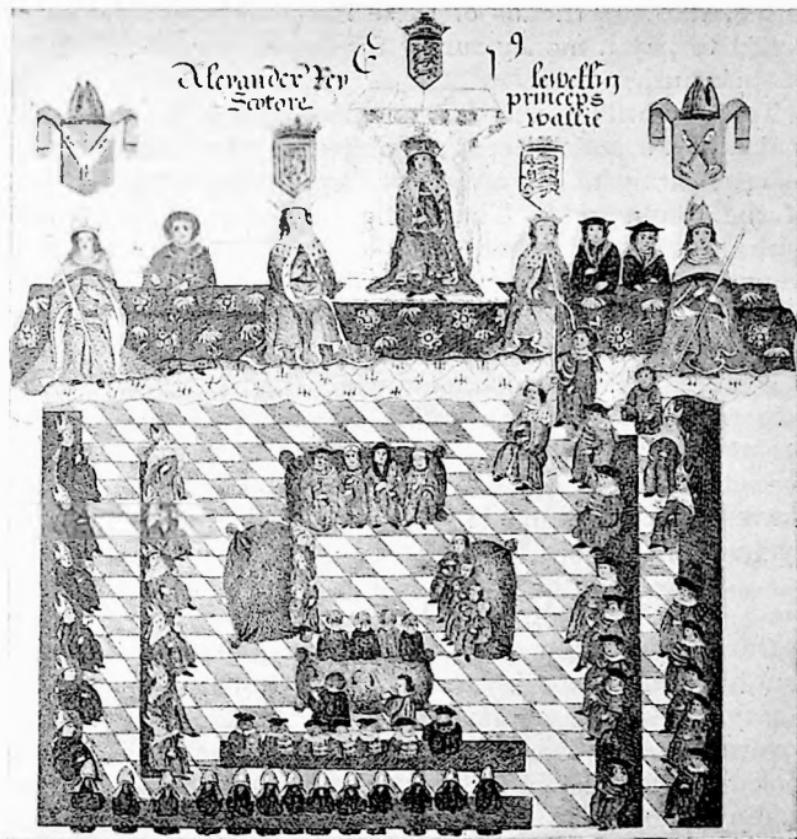
people, just as our Parliament can do to-day. Hitherto, a monarch who desired to know the real state of his country, could get reliable information only by rushing headlong from place to place unheralded, like Henry II, and seeing with his own eyes what was going on. Quite plainly this was more than any man could achieve in a lifetime.

Now from every shire came two knights, from every city two citizens, and from every borough two burgesses "of the most discreet men," and these could lay before the king and his nobles any grievances felt by the people in their districts. It was not long, indeed, before they demanded of the king himself that he should keep the law; and in 1297 Edward, after weeping tears of vexation in the presence of a great gathering of his subjects, was forced to confirm the hard-won charters of English liberty and to forswear his own unlawful taxation. He further ordered that twice a year all archbishops and bishops should pronounce a solemn curse upon "all those that by word, deed or counsel do contrary to the foresaid charters, or that in any point break or undo them."

This bold attitude of Parliament towards the king greatly furthered the cause of democracy, and one of its consequences was that henceforth Parliament became more and more necessary to the monarch. By its sanction only could he obtain the money which he often required—or thought he required—in order to carry on foreign wars, and the relations between them developed into a diplomatic conflict. When the king wished to tax the people, Parliament insisted on getting some favour in exchange, such as new powers or the removal of some public grievance.

One need not be surprised that the members of these early parliaments resolutely insisted on their rights. There was no such competition then as there is to-day

for seats in Parliament; in fact, membership was often considered a heavy burden. Because the heaviest taxation



THE PARLIAMENT OF EDWARD I

(From a rare old print)

fell upon the most important towns, it was usual for all to protest that they were too poor and too unimportant to be represented in Parliament. If their protests were unavailing, a meeting of the county or town concerned

was held, and two representatives were chosen, often much against their wishes, to attend at Westminster or at any other city whither the king had summoned them. Often, too, the friends of these members would be compelled to pay a money surety for the proper performance of their duties.

These unwilling members of Parliament, then, would make a slow and uncomfortable journey to their meeting place, hearing as they went the opinions and grievances of the countryside. Thus, when they took their places with other knights and burgesses in Parliament, they would be determined to obtain relief for the injustices under which the people suffered before granting the king new supplies of money.

By this policy Parliament, which had become divided into a House of Lords and a House of Commons, had become very powerful by the end of the fourteenth century. It had, in fact, in 1399 actually deposed Richard II and elected Henry IV as king. It then claimed to govern by itself.

The Downfall of Parliament

During the reign of Henry V the government of the country ran smoothly and successfully; but under Henry VI, whose character was feeble, the weakness of government by Parliament was clearly seen. The king took little interest in national affairs, and the need for a guiding personality was strongly felt. When the Wars of the Roses had filled the land with slaughter and wretchedness, the people clamoured for someone who would have the force to govern. They cared nothing who it should be, Yorkist or Tudor, so long as it was not a body of useless deputies.

The Tudors kept the old forms of government, because Parliament was found useful in making laws and granting

taxes, whilst it did not interfere with their own plans. Under Henry VIII it was as accommodating and subservient as that scheming and unscrupulous monarch could desire. At his wish, it sent many prominent men and women to the scaffold, released him from payment of his debts, and allowed him to name his own successor. The reason for this apparent weakness of Parliament was that Henry was acknowledged to be a strong leader, and the country's fear of other civil wars and foreign invasion reconciled Parliament to the king's injustices so long as he made England safe from foreign aggression. Henry, for his part, finding Parliament so willing to humour him, refrained from interfering with its powers.

In 1587, Peter Wentworth inquired in the House of Commons : "Whether this council be not a place for any member of the same—freely and without controlment of any person—to utter any of the griefs of this commonwealth whatsoever, touching the service of God, the safety of the prince and this noble realm." This inquiry was really an accusation against Elizabeth, to the effect that she domineered unduly over Parliament, and for this Wentworth was put in prison. Elizabeth later declared her mind on this matter. "Privilege of speech," she announced, "is granted, but you must know what privilege you have: not to speak everyone what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter that; but your privilege is *aye* or *no*"; which, interpreted by the Speaker in the House, was : "Her Majesty's express command is 'That no bills touching matters of state or reformation in causes ecclesiastical be exhibited.'" Yet, in 1601, two years before Elizabeth's death, the Commons asserted themselves in no uncertain voice. In a debate on the patents and monopolies given or sold by the Crown, a member read a list of those that had been lately granted, including currants, iron, ashes, bottles, glasses, cards, train-oil,

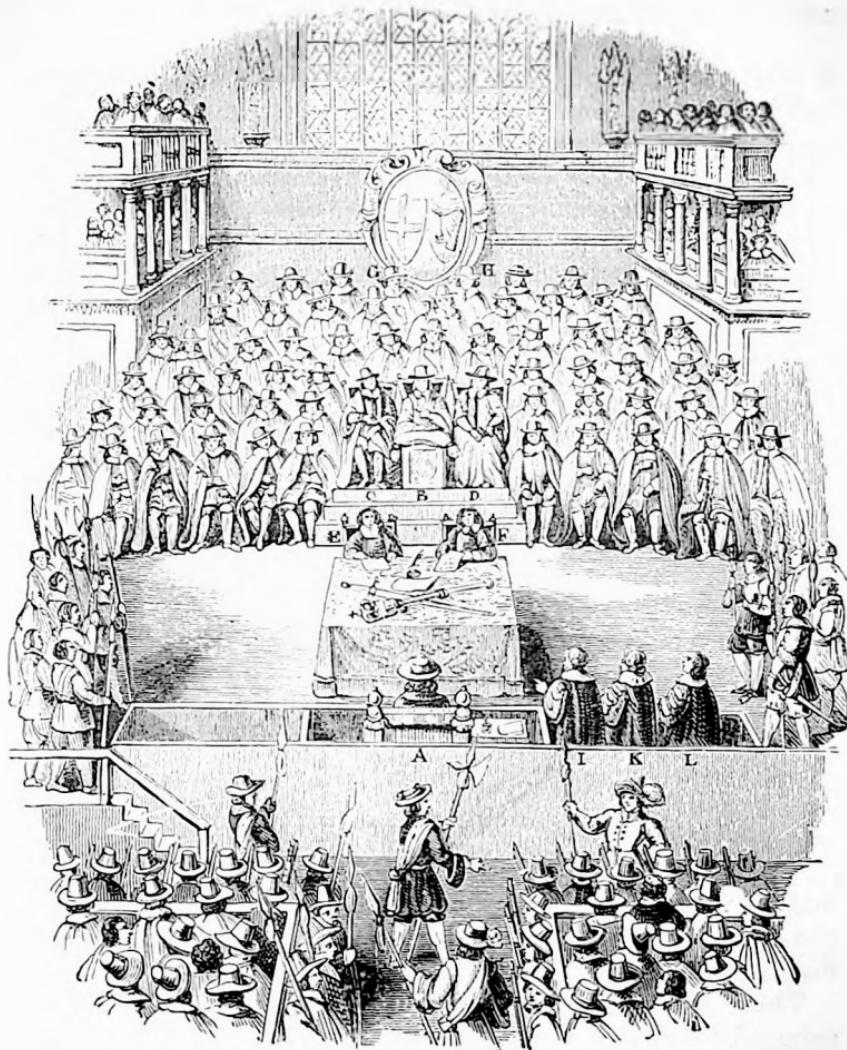
vinegar, salt, bags, brushes and many others. Another member inquired whether bread was among them, and suggested that if no resistance were made this would soon be a Crown monopoly. Elizabeth had the sense to give up some of her rights in regard to monopolies, and the reign ended in peace.

The Stuart kings—James I and Charles I—being Scots, did not understand the English people, and between them and Parliament there was much disagreement, which ended in civil war. The Stuart kings failed to realize the strength of the Commons, which was increasing as the middle classes grew in numbers and prosperity. There were many quarrels especially over religion and taxation, and both James and Charles tried to carry matters with a high hand ; Charles, indeed, went too far, and ended on the scaffold.

England now became a commonwealth or republic under Cromwell as Lord Protector. During its ten years' duration many kinds of Parliament, in one of which members from Scotland and Ireland for the first time took their seats, were tried, but all failed to govern successfully. The people chafed under the severe rule of Cromwell and wished for the restoration of the monarchy. Cromwell died in 1658, and two years later a free Parliament recalled Charles II.

From Restoration to Revolution

Under Charles II England's destiny was still greatly dependent on the outcome of the old struggle between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. Charles himself had a strong leaning to the latter and carried on, to the danger of English interests, underhand dealings with King Louis XIV of France, an uncompromising Roman Catholic. Agreement between king and Parliament was therefore impossible. The vexed problem of appointing



TRIAL OF CHARLES I

From an old print of 1684

Key to the above plate:—A The King. B The Lord President Bradshaw. C and D John Lisle and William Say, Bradshaw's assistants. E and F Andrew Broughton and John Phelps, Clerks of the Court. G and H Oliver Cromwell and Henry Martin, with the Arms of the Commonwealth over them. I, K, and L Counsellors for the Commonwealth.

a successor to the throne rested on the same religious basis, for the king's brother, James, was an avowed Romanist, and at first Parliament was strongly opposed to his succeeding. Charles, however, stood firm and bore down Parliament's opposition, so that in 1685 James became king amid fairly general approval. During his reign of four years he strove to make England a Roman Catholic country, and made hosts of enemies, so that at



CORONATION MEDAL OF WILLIAM
AND MARY

last it was decided to call in William Prince of Orange, the husband of James's elder daughter Mary, and James fled across the channel.

Then came the "Glorious Revolution." William solemnly declared that his aim was to secure the calling together of a free Parliament, by whose decision as to the succession he would abide. This meant that the people were free to choose a king for themselves. This they did without bloodshed, and it is one of the wisest deeds in their history. A declaration of right was drawn up

asserting all the ancient privileges and rights of the people of each part of the realm. The enactment of this Bill of Rights, as it was otherwise known, closed the great struggle between the Crown and Parliament (1603–1689). The following extracts from it refer to the charges against James II, the accession of William and Mary, and the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the throne.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS, 1689

“ Whereas the late King James II, by the assistance of divers evil counselors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this kingdom.

“ 1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament.

“ 2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the same assumed power.

“ 3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the Great Seal for erecting a court, called the ‘Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.’

“ 4. By levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament.

“ 5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.

“ 6. By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law.

“ 7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament.

“ 9. And whereas of late years partial, corrupt and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, etc.

“ 11. And excessive fines have been imposed.

“ 12. And illegal and cruel punishments have been inflicted.

“ All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of this realm.

“ Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them (Parliament) from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties, the said lords

spiritual and temporal, and commons assembled at Westminster, do resolve that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be and be declared King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said prince and princess during their lives and the life of the survivor of them ;

" And whereas, it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince or by any king or queen marrying a Papist, the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, do further pray that it may be enacted that all and every person and persons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the see or Church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded and be forever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown and government of this realm."

Parliament now became, more than ever, the ruling power in England. Henceforth it was to be held often, and was to enjoy the liberty of free speech. This was a splendid achievement ; but real progress was greatly hampered by the fierce hate with which the Whigs and the Tories regarded each other. In these days the members of the one party sought to brand their opponents as traitors, to drive them from the country, and even to bring them to the gaol or to the scaffold.

In spite of frequent bickerings with Parliament, William had retained great powers in his own hands. He had chosen his own ministers, had refused to ratify Acts of Parliament which were not to his liking, and had determined the part to be played by England in European affairs. In the reign of Anne, who succeeded him, the power of Parliament increased, and in 1707 it was strengthened by the union of England and Scotland, the latter country finally dispensing with its own Parliament in Edinburgh, and sending representatives to Westminster.

It was, perhaps, fortunate for England that the next ruler, George I, was a German who preferred Hanover to England and who could not even speak our language.

Thus it was useless for him to attend meetings of council, and his powers naturally fell into the hands of the chief minister, Sir Robert Walpole, who virtually ruled the country with the goodwill of Parliament for more than eighteen years. Walpole was one of England's greatest rulers, and he owed his power to Parliament for, being a Whig and a Hanoverian, he was loyally supported by the majority of the House of Commons. The Tories were mainly Jacobites, and considered that the Scottish James (the old Pretender) should have succeeded Anne; by way of protest, therefore, against the election of the Hanoverian George, many of them declined to attend Court or Parliament, thus playing into the hands of Walpole and the Whigs. While his rule was generally beneficent, he was guilty of introducing the practices of bribery and corruption that for long were a blot on the honour of Parliament. Votes both inside Parliament and at elections could be, and were, purchased for money, with the result that Parliament more resembled an auction market (without its honesty) than a responsible body of the people's representatives.

In Wright's "Caricature History of the Georges" (see p. 40) a very amusing and instructive, although burlesque, account is given as from the *Flying Post*, 27th January, 1715. This suggests that, while bribery and corruption was rampant, as we know, violence was not an unimportant factor in elections.

Parliament in Danger

George III, on his accession to the throne, cultivated this system of bribery for his own ends. He contrived to purchase the allegiance of a majority in Parliament favourable to himself, and so it came about that all those who opposed the king's wishes were driven out of public posts, while vast sums of money were spent in buying, for the

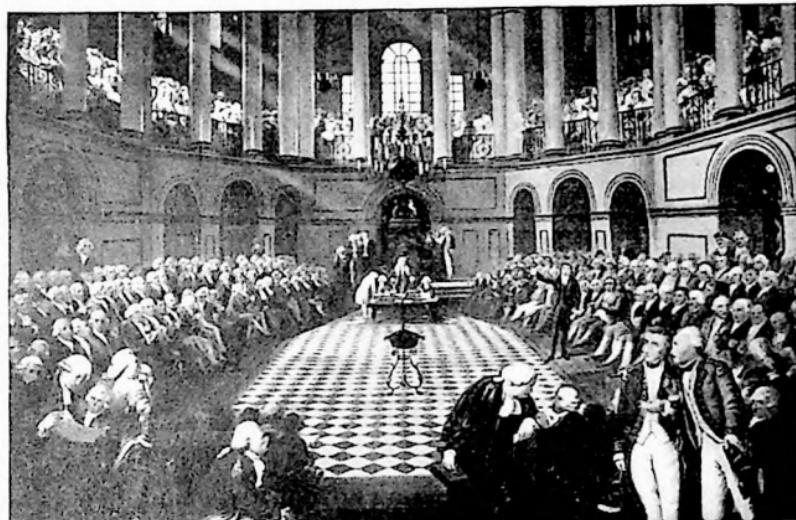
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN THE EARLY HANOVERIAN PERIOD

	£	s.	d.
“ Imprimis, for bespeaking and collecting a mob	20	0	0
“ Item, for many suits of knots for their heads	30	0	0
“ For scores of huzza-men	40	0	0
“ For roarers of the word ‘ Church’	40	0	0
“ For a set of ‘ No Roundhead’ roarers	40	0	0
“ For several gallons of Tory punch on church tomb-stones	30	0	0
“ For a majority of clubs and brandy bottles	20	0	0
“ For bell-ringers, fiddlers, and porters	10	0	0
“ For a set of coffee-house praters	40	0	0
“ For extraordinary expense for cloths and lac’d hats on show days, to dazzle the mob	50	0	0
“ For dissenters’ dammers	40	0	0
“ For demolishing two houses	200	0	0
“ For committing two riots	200	0	0
“ For secret encouragement to the rioters	40	0	0
“ For a dozen of perjury men	100	0	0
“ For packing and carriage paid to Gloucester	50	0	0
“ For breaking windows	20	0	0
“ For a gang of alderman-abusers	40	0	0
“ For a set of notorious lyars	50	0	0
“ For pot-ale	100	0	0
“ For law, and charges in the King’s Bench	300	0	0
“ £1,460 0 0 ”			

king’s side, the votes of those who were willing to sell them. Through these practices Parliament for a time lost the respect of the nation, and in 1783 matters looked so bad that foreign nations thought England’s day was done.

It was time that something were done, and the hour found the man in William Pitt the younger, who was himself so great that he made Parliament great also. One of his first measures was to form the union of Great Britain and Ireland, in the hope of appeasing Irish bitterness, which had been aroused by the ruthless tyranny of Cromwell, and the broken faith of William of Orange. It was a great idea, and might have succeeded had Pitt been properly supported. His intention was that Ireland should

be represented in the House of Commons by one hundred members, to be chosen freely by their fellow-countrymen, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant. In the result, however, the Irish members were chosen by the Protestant



THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1790

minority in Ireland, and the old story of Irish grievance was continued.

Pitt's great work for England, which touched a multitude of reforms, was greatly hindered by the French Revolution, and by the war between England and France which followed it and continued for twenty years. It was no light task during this time of anxiety to keep up the spirit of the nation and to find money for the war, but it was done, and the greater share of the credit was Pitt's.

The Struggle for Reforms

Before 1832 Parliament was elected by a mere handful of privileged electors, and it had long been evident that

great masses of the people were debarred from all share in governing their country, and that they bitterly resented this neglect. Especially was this the case in the important new industrial towns such as Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and others to which workers had flocked from the country districts at the call of the new machinery. The North of England, for many centuries the most thinly peopled and backward part of the Kingdom, rapidly became the seat of a great and increasing population of workers. Yet they were not represented in Parliament, whereas many boroughs which had decayed to little or nothing, with very few inhabitants, continued to send their members to the House of Commons.

Strange as it may appear to us to-day, there was strong opposition to any proposed reform that would allow these new cities to be represented. Many of the lords were in full agreement with the Duke of Wellington when he declared in 1830 that our political system was perfect, and that the people wished no other. "As long as I hold any station in the government of the country," he said, "I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others."

The people's discontent was brought to a head by the hardships they had to endure through the corn laws. At that time the old plan of trying to grow enough corn in the country to feed all the people was still in operation, and it was found insufficient ; the restrictions on importing foreign corn, imposed for the protection of the "agricultural interest," practically shut off that supply ; such food, therefore, as could be got was very dear. Thousands of workers in the town and country were starving, and in their rage they burned stacks of corn and straw so that the farmers' prosperity should not mock their own misery. All this suggested the beginnings of revolution, and the authorities were obliged to

listen to the workers' demand for a share in political power.

In 1831 the Reform Bill, providing for extended representation in Parliament, was introduced to the Commons, but a small majority threw it out. Then followed a general election, when the question of reform was put plainly to the country. When the Bill was next presented the Commons passed it decisively, but the Lords threw it out, thus bringing on themselves the public anger. In the following year, after the Commons had again passed the Bill, the House of Lords again rejected it after much indecision ; but the king was prevailed on by the Commons to promise in writing that he would create a sufficient number of new peers to pass the Bill in the second House. The Lords, recognizing the inevitable, gave way, and the Reform Bill thus became law.

The Progress of Reform

Very soon it became evident that power of government had passed from the nobility and gentry to the *middle* classes. The new and reformed Parliament at once set itself to alleviate the distress of the poor. One of its first acts was to liberate the slaves in our colonies ; and another was to improve the conditions of the workers in factories and mines. While the Industrial Revolution produced great material benefits, it also led to many evils which affected chiefly women and children. In the following speech addressed to the House of Commons, the Earl of Shaftesbury, who continued throughout his lifetime to plead for factory legislation, described the appalling conditions under which children worked in coal mines—

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE FACTORY ACTS (1842)

Earl of Shaftesbury (1801–1885), "Speeches"

"I shall now proceed to the statement I have undertaken respecting the condition of the working classes in our mines and

collieries, and the measures requisite to ameliorate that condition. With respect to the age at which children are worked in mines and collieries in South Staffordshire, it is common to begin at seven years old ; in Shropshire some begin as early as six years of age ; in Warwickshire the same ; in Leicestershire nearly the same. In Derbyshire many begin at five, many between five and six years, many at seven. In West Riding of Yorkshire it is not uncommon for infants even of five years old to be sent to the pit. About Halifax and the neighbourhood children are sometimes brought to the pits at the age of six years, and are taken out of their beds at 4 o'clock. Bradford and Leeds, the same ; in Lancashire and Cheshire, from five to six. Near Oldham children are worked as low as four years old, and in the small collieries towards the hills some are so young they are brought to work in their bed-gowns.' In Cumberland, many at seven ; in South Durham, as early as five years of age, and by no means uncommon at six. In reference to this I may quote a remark of Dr. Mitchell, one of the Commissioners ; he says : ' Though the very young children are not many in proportion, there are still such a number as is painful to contemplate, and which the great coal-owners will perhaps now learn for the first time, and I feel a firm belief that they will do so with sorrow and regret.'

" All the underground work, which in the coal-mines of England, Scotland, and Wales, is done by young children, appears in Ireland to be done by young persons between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. Now, with respect to sex, the Report states that in South Staffordshire no females are employed in underground work, nor in North Staffordshire. In Shropshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Derbyshire, the same. In the West Riding of Yorkshire the practice of employing females underground is universal. About Halifax and the neighbourhood girls from five years old and upwards regularly perform the same work as boys. At Bradford and Leeds, far from uncommon. In Lancashire and Cheshire, it is the general custom for girls and women to be employed. In North Lancashire, throughout the whole of the district, girls and women are regularly employed underground.

" 'While efficient ventilation,' the Report adds, 'is neglected, less attention is paid to drainage. . . .

" 'Some pits are dry and comfortable. . . .

* * * * *

" Many are so wet that the people have to work all day over their shoes in water, at the same time that the water is constantly dripping from the roof : in other pits, instead of dripping, it constantly rains, as they term it, so that in a short time after they commence the labour of the day their clothes are drenched, and in this state, their feet also in water, they work all day. The

children especially (and in general the younger the age the more painfully this unfavourable state of the place of work is felt) complain bitterly of this.' It must be borne in mind that it is in this district (Derbyshire) that the regular hours of a full day's labour are fourteen, and occasionally sixteen; and the children have to walk a mile or two at night without changing their clothes.

"In Oldham the mountain-seams are wrought in a very rude manner. There is very insufficient drainage. The ways are so low that only little boys can work in them, which they do naked, and often in mud and water, dragging sledge-tubs by the girdle and chain.

"In North Wales, in many of the mines, the roads are low and narrow, the air foul, the places of work dusty, dark, and damp, and the ventilation most imperfect.

"The child, it appears, has a girdle bound round its waist, to which is attached a chain, which passes under the legs, and is attached to the cart. The child is obliged to pass on all fours, and the chain passes under what, therefore, in that posture, might be called hind legs; and thus they have to pass through avenues not so good as a common sewer, quite as wet, and oftentimes more contracted. This kind of labour they have to continue during several hours, in a temperature described as perfectly intolerable . . .

"'In the east of Scotland,' says the commissioner, 'the persons employed in coal-bearing are almost always girls and women. They carry coal on their back on unrailed roads, with burdens varying from $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. to 3 cwt.—a cruel slaving,' says the commissioner, 'revolting to humanity. I found a little girl,' says he, 'only six years old, carrying half a cwt., and making regularly fourteen long journeys a day.'

During the year 1833-34 the first of the Factory Acts was passed, prohibiting the employment in cotton mills of children under nine, and limiting the hours of women and young persons to a maximum of twelve hours a day.

Despite these reforms, however, there was much still to be done. In 1848, for example, forty-two boroughs with a total population of 37,200 sent to Parliament sixty-nine members—as many as were sent by thirty-six great towns with a combined population of about 400,000. As yet great numbers of working men had no vote, and always the reform that was most urgently required was the repeal of the Corn Laws, which would secure a plentiful and cheap supply of food. The price of bread soon outreached

the purses of the people, but to their demand for foreign grain always the same answer was given : "The landowner and the farmer would be ruined." The situation developed into a conflict between the landed proprietors, who were interested in keeping up the prices of native produce, and the manufacturing classes, who desired to be fed at a reasonable cost.

After a stern struggle the leaders of the manufacturing classes, Cobden and Bright, prevailed upon the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, to support Free Trade, that is, liberty to buy from abroad without paying a heavy tax. In 1846 the policy of Free Trade was made law, and this did much to make England contented.

During the last three-quarters of a century four great changes have affected Parliament. These have been the second and third Reform Bills of 1867 and 1884, the Ballot Act of 1872, and the Representation of the People Act of 1918. By these measures, most men of 21 and most women of 30 years of age have the right to vote for a candidate for Parliament ; further, they may vote secretly, letting no one know to whom they have given their votes. Until Members of Parliament received the sum of £400 a year as an assistance to pay expenses, it was extremely difficult for a poor man to enter Parliament.

The Scottish Parliament

The great struggles which the English people waged with their kings for constitutional liberty have no counterpart in Scotland. The Scottish kings did not carry on expensive foreign wars, and were consequently less apt to put grievous burdens of taxation upon their people. Quarrels between rival parties of nobles were of frequent occurrence, but no constitutional crisis such as gave to the English people their charters of liberty ever took place in Scotland.

The history of Scotland practically begins with the reign of David I. Though he had no parliament, some of his wise social acts were done, "with the consent of the barons and people." This body was the germ of the future parliament. The king in those days travelled about the country, and in each district the freeholders went to meet the king. These, with the bishops, barons, and earls who attended their royal master, formed the parliament of that time. Matters relating to taxation, to lands and trade, were settled at these informal meetings.

In every country there are what are known as estates. Thus, the clergy and the barons are two estates, while the burgesses of the towns form the third estate. Now in the early parliaments the first two estates were well represented, but it was not until 1326 that the free burgesses were allowed to have a say in the government of their country.

This year was the greatest in the constitutional history of Scotland. You will remember that 1326 is just a few years after the Battle of Bannockburn. Scottish liberty had been won but at a great cost. The exchequer of the country was exhausted, and only by recourse to heavy taxation could it be replenished. Now the reason for including the townsmen will be apparent. Many of them were rich, and their consent was required to allow themselves and their burghs to be taxed.

The meeting place was Cambuskenneth Abbey. At the outset an agreement was made between King Robert and his three estates. For the purposes of government the latter granted to the king for life the tenth penny of all farms and rents, that is the rents of all lands were divided into ten parts, and one of those parts was to pass into the royal exchequer.

Parliament now began to assemble more regularly and to extend its field of operations. The coinage in early times was very bad, and the poor people suffered, trade

was hindered and fraud was rife. Parliament passed many laws to improve this state of matters. At all periods the Scottish Parliament kept well hold of the purse strings, thus securing its power.

In the fifteenth century it was not considered to be a great honour to attend Parliament: it was so expensive that many would have preferred to stay away. Indeed, in 1428 an Act was passed to allow the lesser barons to be represented out of their number instead of all appearing themselves. In order to stop still further the cry of expense Parliament decided to pay Scottish members £5 a day, to cover the travelling both going and coming.

The next development was due to the pressure of public business. Parliament began to elect committees to help in legislation, and one of these committees afterwards became the Committee of the Articles. This Committee was elected by Parliament, and it selected thereafter the Lords of the Articles. This system was not a good one but lasted for a long time.

James VI changed it for the worse. He made himself very powerful by making the nobles choose eight bishops and the bishops in turn eight nobles. These sixteen chose eight barons and eight burgesses, and the thirty-two thus selected became the Lords of the Articles, and, with the king, governed the country.

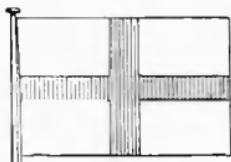
After the troubles of the Reformation were over and Scotland was under the same ruler as England, the people were able to force William III to abolish the Lords of the Articles.

The Act of Union

The time, however, was rapidly approaching when wise men in both England and Scotland were in favour of a union of parliaments. It seemed foolish that two countries

with the same ruler and speaking the same speech should still keep two independent parliaments. It was, however, far from being an easy task. There were many grave problems to be settled. The trade systems and the religions of the two nations were widely different.

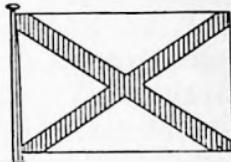
Shortly after 1700 the English Parliament had made Electress Sophia the heiress to the English throne. Two



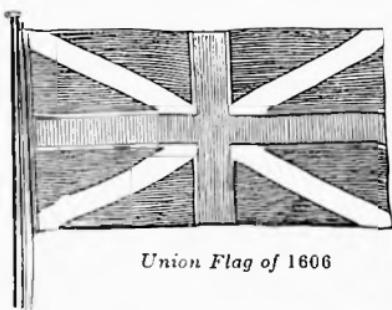
*The Cross of St.
George for England*



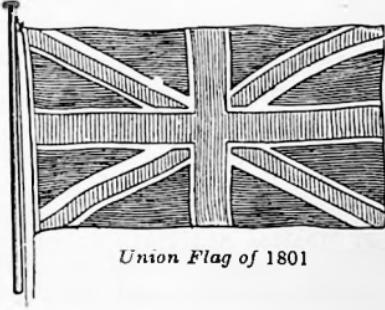
*The Cross of St.
Andrew for Scotland*



*The Cross of St.
Patrick for Ireland*



Union Flag of 1606



Union Flag of 1801

HOW WE GOT OUR FLAG

years later the Scottish Parliament passed the famous Act of Security. The terms of this Act made it plain that the people of Scotland would not acknowledge a new English sovereign unless England granted freedom of trade and equal commercial privileges to Scotland. There was, of course, great turmoil in the country. It looked for a time as if war would result, but happily this was averted.

An Act of Union was passed by the Scottish Parliament on 25th March, 1707. As the then Lord Chancellor

said : " There's the end o' an auld sang " ; the Scottish Parliament which had been in existence for hundreds of years that day came to an end.

There were twenty-five articles in the Act of Union. The chief points settled were that on 1st May, 1707, England and Scotland should become one United Kingdom to be called Great Britain ; secondly that the kings and queens should be the same for both countries ; thirdly that one Parliament should rule, and that equal rights and privileges should be established in both England and Scotland. Lesser matters were settled : a common coinage, common weights and measures, and common trade and commercial laws. Scotland was to have its own Established Church and retain its own system of justice. The Scottish members for the new Parliament numbered forty-five. This number has been increased from time to time and now amounts to seventy-four.

The Act of Union has been of the utmost benefit to both England and Scotland, making one happy and prosperous kingdom out of two quarrelsome neighbours.

PROBLEMS

- 1. Mention any three important differences between our modern Parliament and the Saxon Witenagemot.
- 2. Who is known as " the father of English Parliaments " ? Say what he did to earn this title.
- 3. Make a short statement of Queen Elizabeth's attitude towards Parliament.
- 4. To what modern parties do the terms " Whig " and " Tory " correspond ? What was the Labour Party called in the eighteenth century ?
- 5. Write an account in ten lines of Sir Robert Walpole.
- 6. Write an imaginary account of a Parliamentary Election in the time of George III, using any details from p. 40.
- 7. What were the Corn Laws and what was their effect on the people ?
- 8. Distinguish between " Free Trade " and " Protection. "
- 9. Who is the M.P. for your town or division ? Is he *Liberal*, *Labour*, *Conservative*, or *Independent* ?
- 10. Do you agree with the payment of £400 a year to Members of Parliament ? Give full reasons for your reply.

SECTION II

CHAPTER IV

OUR LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

SOME of you who live in large towns will not be quite sure what is meant by the word 'parish.' The others, whose homes are in the country, will easily be able to tell the meaning because they often go from one parish to another. In the olden days churches were built in the villages all over the country, and, when it became necessary to divide the country into sections for the purposes of government, it was decided to plan those sections so that each should have a church in it. These divisions were called *parishes*.

At that time there were very few roads and no hedges, so that quarrels frequently arose about the proper position of the boundaries between one parish and another. It was the custom, therefore, for the villagers to go round the parish and put big stones at various points. There was another reason for so carefully marking out the parish. Many hundreds of years ago only the rich could leave their own parish without permission, the poor not being allowed to come and go as they pleased.

In those days people could not choose their own careers or occupations. They were obliged to work at the same trades as their fathers pursued ; they had to labour from sunrise till sunset ; and if they neglected to attend service at the parish church, they were fined. There were no such institutions then as public baths and washhouses, free libraries and museums, or parish councils.

How different are things now ! We are free to go where we please, and worship where and how we like. Every occupation is open to us. It is no longer necessary to put up stones at the parish boundaries. Hundreds of new parishes have been made because of the increase in the number of the people, and their boundaries are now fixed by measurement, and set down on maps.

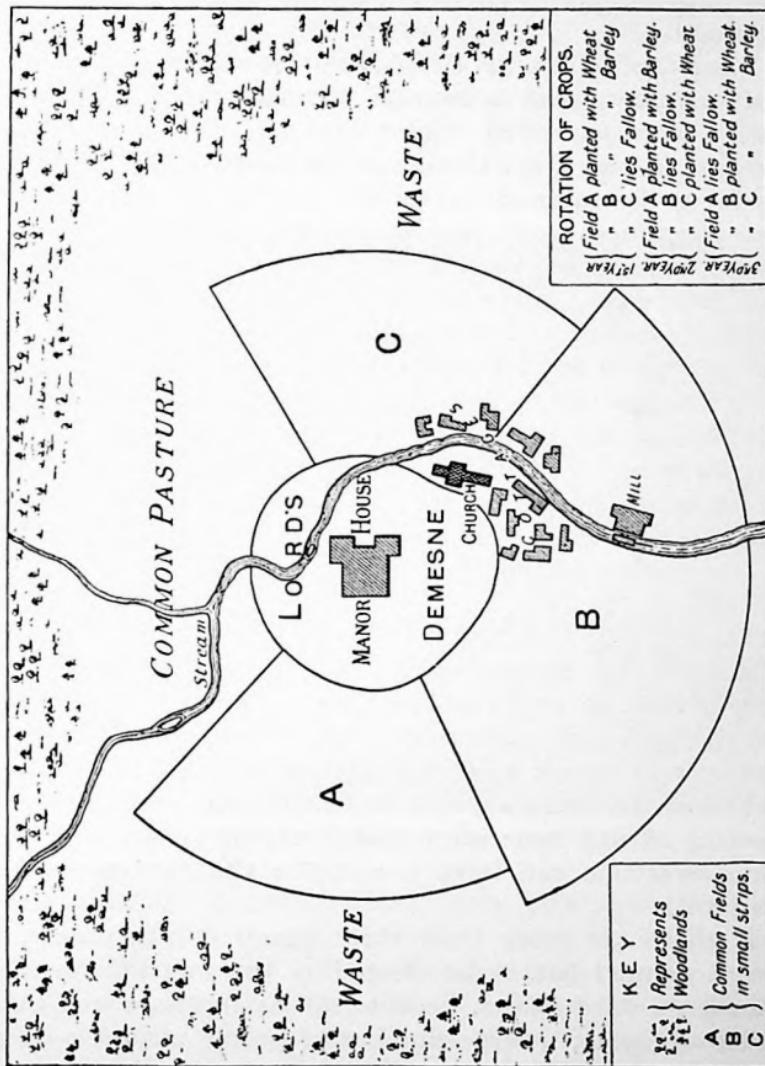
The Parish Church

In making a round of the parish, one of the first places you will visit will be the parish church, or, as it is called in Scotland, the parish *kirk*. This is one of our oldest citizen institutions. At one time it was the only place of education and public meeting. It also afforded shelter to those in distress. The criminal flying from justice, or the defeated soldier escaping from battle, claimed sanctuary at its altar ; for while he was there none dared touch him ; he was safe from arrest and death by violence.

The villagers held their markets in the aisles of the church ; the affairs of the parish were discussed in the vestry ; and the vicar and churchwardens governed the parish in almost everything except the punishment of crime. No one could be buried in the consecrated ground of the churchyard except those who belonged to the Church of England, and no service was read over people who had committed suicide or were unbaptized.

In Scotland also the *kirk* was the centre of the village life. Being the only large building in the community it was occasionally used as the market, and from time to time the *kirk-session* met there to discuss the affairs of the parish. The session was composed of the minister and the elders, who, like the vicar and his Church officers in England, ruled supreme in the parish.

If you should visit some of the old villages in Belgium and Germany, you would see parish life centred around



PLAN OF A MANORIAL ESTATE

the parish church just as it used to be in England and Scotland.

The parish church is still a valuable citizen institution. The minister must solemnize the marriages of all his parishioners who wish him to do so. Most people are married in this way, though in modern times it is quite lawful to be married before the Registrar. The church also encourages boys' brigades, mutual improvement and temperance societies ; and it affords a place of worship and retirement, where people may think and hear about the highest duties of citizenship.

The church used to relieve the distress of the poor, obtaining the money from voluntary offerings ; but generally, and particularly in the country districts, the powers of church and vestry in England, and of the kirk-session in Scotland, have been absorbed or taken over by the parish councils and it is to these bodies that we owe most of our modern improvements.

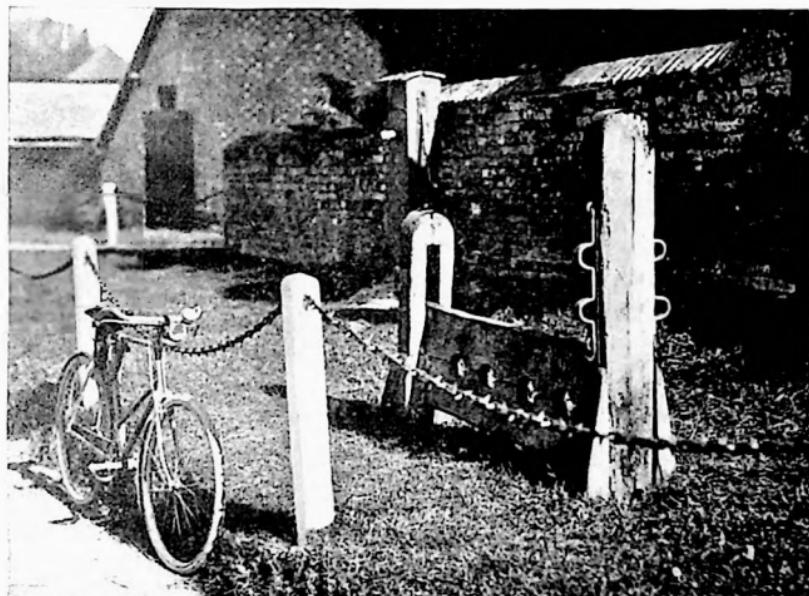
The Parish Council

Every rural parish has a "Parish Meeting" at least once a year, at which all local government electors in the parish, both men and women, are entitled to be present and vote. These meetings are always held after six o'clock in the evening, and if six or more people want a meeting at any time after that hour, they may call one. Thus everyone can have a voice in the government of his parish.

If there are more than three hundred inhabitants, a parish council has to be elected by the meeting for the management of affairs, because, as has been proved over and over again, a large number of people cannot govern themselves so well as a few selected for that special purpose. In case these few should take too great an advantage of their power, the parish meeting retains the right to check

them ; and no free libraries, baths, washhouses, or street lamps can be put up without the approval of this meeting.

Parish councillors are elected every three years in England and Scotland. The duties differ in the two countries. In England they have to look after the foot-paths and roads ; and no one may close up a thoroughfare



OLD PARISH STOCKS AND WHIPPING POST

without their consent. They have power to purchase land and provide new recreation grounds, parks, and public offices. The chief official of the council is the parish clerk, who performs all the secretarial work. In Scotland they perform the duties of Boards of Guardians in England, making suitable provision for those legally entitled to relief, drawing up the assessment roll, fixing the amount of assessment and appointing a collector.

It is the law of the land that all births, deaths, and marriages should be reported without delay to the Registrar. In Scotland he is an official appointed by the parish council, and he is entrusted with the important work of keeping the registers belonging to the parish. The Registrar in England is appointed by the Poor Law Guardians, concerning whom we shall read later.

The Voters' Lists

There are two important votes or franchises, the parliamentary vote and the local government vote. The former is the means whereby a citizen declares which candidate he would prefer to represent him in Parliament ; the latter entitles him to say which men or women he would like to have elected as councillors in his county, borough, district or parish. Parliament's work is concerned with the general affairs of the country as a whole : a local council's business is confined to purely local interests.

Every year the town clerks in boroughs and the clerks of county councils make out lists of persons who are entitled to vote at a parliamentary election. Until 1918 only men had this privilege, but to-day there are also women voters.

The *Representation of the People Act* of 1918 lays down the conditions under which men and women may vote at parliamentary and local government elections, and it should be noted that these differ in a few important details.

In each case a man must be 21 years of age, and a woman 30 years. To be qualified to vote at a local election, one must have occupied land or premises in the area, either as owner or tenant, for not less than six months. A lodger who rents a furnished room is not recognized as "a tenant," but if he rents an unfurnished

room he is entitled to a local government vote. A woman has a vote if she is 21 years of age, and would have had a vote had she been a man ; also, if she is the wife of a man who has a local vote, she is entitled to one if she is 30 years of age.

As regards the parliamentary vote, the qualifications are mainly the same, with a few differences. For instance, it is not necessary to be either an owner or a tenant of property to have the parliamentary vote ; it is sufficient if a person, otherwise qualified, resides in a district for the necessary period.

Certain people, although they possess all these necessary qualifications, are not entitled to vote. To this class belong aliens, the insane, and imprisoned criminals. The reasons for their being debarred from voting should be quite clear to you.

We see, then, that the majority of men over 21 years, and of women over 30 years, have a voice in the election of members to parliament and to local councils. It is one thing, however, to have the right to vote, and another thing to exercise that right. It is the duty of all citizens to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the country as a whole, and in the welfare of their own locality in particular, and to use their votes in favour of those candidates whose ideas seem to be most in agreement with their own.

Lists of voters are exhibited on the doors of churches, chapels, post-offices, police stations, and public libraries, so that all may see for themselves if their names are included.

Suppose that your name ought to be, but is not, on the list. You can claim to have it inserted. A revision court is held every six months for this purpose. If you fail to make the claim, and no one else does it for you, you will lose your vote. Now, many people do not take the

trouble to look at these voters' lists ; so a few omissions of this kind may result in Smith's being elected a member of Parliament instead of Jenkins, for sometimes the votes are nearly equal.

There is another reason why you should examine these lists. Some people get on the lists who are not of the proper age, or who for some other reason are not entitled to vote. Those responsible for making the lists may not always be able to inquire into each case, but you may know the facts. If you see a name on the list which you know should not be there, you should object, and the revision court will see that justice is done.

Overseers of the Poor

The overseers of the poor are appointed every year in England by the parish council or the parish meeting ; or, in towns, by the town council or urban district council. Although they are very important officials, they are not paid for performing their duties, and "any substantial householder," whether man or woman, may be called upon to take this office. The most important duty that falls to the overseers is the assessment and collection of rates. They also prepare lists of all persons liable to be called for service on juries. A great deal of the overseers' hardest work is usually done by a paid assistant overseer, who is appointed by the council. This assistant may also act as the rate collector.

In Scotland the same work is done by assessors, who are appointed by the county council or by burgh magistrates.

The Rates

Every one knows the rate collector, and many people would rather not know him. No official is more harmless ; yet none is less liked than he. Some people are "not at home" when he calls ; others will not pay until they are summoned, when, of course, they have to pay

the cost of the summons as well. They forget that all the benefits of freedom, of health and of government, which we enjoy, have to be paid for.

All local expenses are paid out of the rates, and national expenses out of the taxes. Let us notice now how everybody contributes something, according to his means, to the rates.

All the property in the district, including railways, canals and street hoardings, is valued at so many pounds a year. About a sixth of this is deducted for wear and tear, and the remainder is called the rateable value. Thus, if you rent a house at £60 a year, the rateable value will be about £50. If, then, the average rate which is required from everybody amounts to 10s. in the £, your rates will be £25 each year.

If you think you are rated too high, you can appeal, and if you can prove your case, your rates will be reduced. Lodgers do not pay rates, but the rooms they rent are cheaper or dearer according to the rates and the rent of the house. Thus every one really contributes something, but only according to his means, to the maintenance of our local institutions.

Rates vary greatly in different parts of the country. In those districts where the usual public features have already been established, such as a public library, parks, and the like, it is only the cost of their upkeep that has to be paid. On the other hand, a new growing community has to spend a great deal of money in construction, and consequently its rates will probably be much higher. The rate-amount in the £ also depends on the class of population in a district. In districts where there are many casual labourers, there is often great distress, especially when trade is bad, and those in want are helped with local public money. Consequently in such districts the poor rate is usually very high.

Examples of Rate Demand Forms are given on pp. 62 and 63. From these it will be seen to what purposes the rates are applied. The citizen's liability does not end here, however ; there are still many taxes which he has to pay. These are collected in a different way, as will be explained in a later chapter.

While the overseers of the poor fix and collect the poor rate, the poor law guardians are entrusted with the duty of distributing or applying the money in the best possible way. Paid officials, called "relieving officers," do the bulk of the running-about work, such as visiting those who apply for outdoor relief, and making necessary inquiries. If a case seems urgent, the relieving officer may give immediate assistance either in money or in goods. In other cases he has to report to the Board of Guardians, who then decide what action is to be taken. In Scotland the administration of the poor law is in the care of the parish councillors.

The guardians are elected by vote in the same way as the local councils and hold office for three years. Formerly they used to discourage the system of outdoor relief on the ground that it encouraged laziness, and used to urge the poor who could not support themselves to enter the workhouse. At the present day, however, it is recognized that the outdoor relief method helps poor people to keep their self-respect. Their poverty may be only temporary, and may have arisen through sheer ill-luck. A little timely help is often enough to keep them going until they find their feet again. The workhouse (in Scotland *poor-house*) system, although it provides food, clothing and shelter, has many disadvantages. One of these is that it does not allow for "family life," so that when a husband and wife enter a workhouse they are separated.

Let us take a look at this place, whose name casts fear into many. Have you ever stood near the gates of the

workhouse about eight o'clock on a summer's evening, or at six in the winter? If so, you will have noticed a number of ragged, pitiful-looking people waiting for admission. These are the unfortunate people who, from some cause or another, have no home of their own and no work to do.

In the summer you may see some of them on the tramp in the country lanes, or snoozing under the hedges; in the winter they seek the shelter of the railway arches and the city bridges until the workhouse opens. Sometimes they have to sleep out all night.

Many of them tramp from one workhouse to another without desiring or looking for work, trusting to be taken in at the casual ward of the workhouse, which gives them shelter and food for one night only, and discharges them next morning at eleven o'clock, after they have performed some light tasks in return for their board and lodging. At one time such people were whipped and branded. No one was allowed to beg, and there were no workhouses. The first workhouse was built at Bristol in 1697.

The workhouse is a very clean, but very bare building. There are at least seven wards or divisions, one for infirm men, one for infirm women, one for able-bodied men, one for able-bodied women, one for boys between seven and fifteen, one for girls between seven and fifteen, and one for children under seven.

The food, of course, is very modest, but there is enough. The discipline is strict and sometimes harsh. This depends upon the master and matron of the workhouse, who are paid officials.

There are other residents besides the casuals; people who have come down in the world, often through no fault of their own, but through their children or acquaintances having ruined them, or through the failure of banks or solicitors to whom they had entrusted their savings for

PARISH OF WINDON

KENSTER UNION

Poor Rate Demand Note

James Hunter, Esq.

Address: 96, Queens Road

The Overseers of the Poor demand payment of a POOR RATE made the 14th day of April, 19—, to meet expenses which will be incurred before the 30th day of September, 19—, now due from you, in respect of the hereditament of which the Assessment Number and Rateable Value are stated below—

Assessment No.	Description of Property.	Rateable Value.	Amount of Rate at 2/8 in the £ on Buildings and other Hereditaments, and at 1/3 in the £ on Agricultural Land.		
	Buildings and other Hereditaments not being Agricultural Land	£ 51	£ 6	5	6
4303	Agricultural Land				
	Total	£			

Amount payable by Owner, provided it be paid within the time prescribed by Section 5 of the Poor Rate Assessment and Collection Act, 1869

Amount in the £

Purposes for which the above-mentioned Poor Rate was made and amount in the £ levied for each purpose, half the amount being levied on Agricultural Land	Relief of the Poor and other expenses of the Guardians	6s
	County Contributions (General)	5s
	" " (Higher Education)	5s
	Borough Contributions (General)	2s
	" " (Elementary Education)	8s
	Police	5s
	Other Expenses	5s
	Total	2s 6d.

You are requested to forward the above amount to the Collector, Mr. John Pine, Rates Office, Town Hall, Windon, as promptly as possible.

Assistant Overseer and Collector's Office, TOWN HALL, BROADWAY, WINDON. Immediate notice of any change of residence should be given at the Office to avoid being left off the Register of Voters.

Telephone WINDON, 5413.

BOROUGH OF WINDON.

General District Rate Demand Note

The Corporation of Windon demand payment of the GENERAL DISTRICT RATE at Two Shillings and Ninepence in the £, made the 14th day of April, 19—, for the expenses of the six months ending 30th September, 19—, now due from you as below—

Description of Property.		Rateable Value.	Amount Payable.		
Houses and Premises	Agricultural Land and Railways	£ 51	£	5	0
	at one-fourth				3
	Total	£			

Total amount of above Rates now due £13 7 9

MONDAYS & WEDNESDAYS
OFFICE 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.
HOURS : FRIDAYS,
9 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Cheques to be made payable to Mr. John Pine, Assistant Overseer and Collector and crossed Barclay's Bank, Ltd., Windon.

Please bring this entire Demand Note with you when you come to pay.

The Estimate for the General District Rate is set out on the back of this Demand.

Estimate of Money required for the Purposes of the General District Rate
for the half-year ending 30th September, 19—

Main Roads	£ 2,226	Brought Forward	£ 38,312
Other Roads	9,335	Open Air Bath	190
Watering	295	Recreation Grounds	1,605
Team Labour	5,278	Cemetery	935
Collecting Dust	2,131	Street Lighting	3,681
Precipitation	835	Dust Destructor	1,729
Sludge Pressing	1,025	Establishment	302
Sludge Disposal	762	Salaries and Wages	2,853
Pumping, Sewage Farm	2,438	Legal Expenses	60
Pumping, Raynes Park	341	Instalments of Loans, Sinking Fund and Interest	7,600
Sewers	804	Insurance of Workmen	135
Farm	963	Cottage Hospitals	100
Public Conveniences	627	Allowances to Men on Service	200
Depot	494	National Health and Unemployment Insurance	100
Cottages	103	Windon Park	1,330
Fire Brigade	1,279	Metropolitan Water Board	
Motor Ambulance	224	Precept	1,300
Public Health Department	1,044	Coal Control	354
Isolation Hospital	3,610	Contingencies	2,000
Joint Small Pox Hospital	103	Total	£ 62,786
Child Welfare	1,395		
Baths	3,000		
Carried Forward	£ 38,312		

Estimate as above	£ 62,786	s. d.
Outstanding Liabilities	400	0 0
	£ 63,186	0 0
Less Assets	4,851	0 0
Amounted to be Provided	£ 58,235	0 0

Rates for which the Borough Council
is responsible.

	Rate in the £	Rate in the £
	s. d.	s. d.
General District Rate	2 8 <i>½</i>	
Borough Rate		2 <i>½</i>
Education Rate		8 <i>½</i>
		3 7 <i>½</i>

Rates for which other Authorities
are responsible.

Mundon Water Board	.	.	1
Poor Rate	.	.	6 <i>½</i>
County Rate, General	.	.	5 <i>½</i>
" High Education	.	1	
Police Rate	.	.	6 <i>½</i>
General Expenses	.	.	5 <i>½</i>
TOTAL	5	3	

old age. These people in their time helped, by their charity and by payment of their rates, to assist their country, and they have a right to the help of their fellow-countrymen now.

NOTES

Ballot, Voting by. (Italian *ballotta*, a little ball, which several of the Italian states used as a mean of secret voting.) The name given to our present system of secret voting, which became law in 1872, so that no man should be intimidated from voting.

Constituency or Constituents. The whole body of the electors of any district.

Electors. Those who have the right of choosing or of voting for representatives.

Parish. Originally meant the district looked after by a bishop or priest. The parish was also the unit of administration for poor law and highway purposes, but nowadays these matters are looked after mainly by boards of guardians and county councils.

Parliament. Derived from the French, *parler*, to speak, and the Italian *parlamento*, a talking place.

Rate. Means "reckoning" or "calculation." The amount of rates one pays is calculated proportionally on the rateable value of one's premises.

Vote. Originally meant a wish or a desire; hence when a person votes, he expresses a desire in a particular way.

PROBLEMS

1. Notices concerning local affairs are still posted on the doors of churches and chapels. Can you explain how this practice arose?

2. Supposing that, by accident, the name of a little boy had been entered in the voters' list, do you think he would be allowed to vote at an election? What are the reasons for your answer?

3. In what parish do you live? Make a rough map of it, showing boundaries, main roads, and situation of chief features of interest.

4. Find out how much in each £ has to be paid in rates in your parish. Who decides how much in every £ must be paid? Who collects the money? (Ask to see the next "Rate Demand Note" that comes to your house and study it carefully.)

5. The Smith family, father (55), mother (53), James (22), have been tenants of a house for two years; the Brown family, father (47), mother (44), Peggy, (23), have, during the same time, occupied furnished rooms in the same house, paying the Smiths £2 a week.

Does either family pay rates directly?

Which of the people named have : (a) the parliamentary vote ; (b) the local government vote ?

In each case give the reasons why they either have or have not a vote.

6. A travelling showman, of proper age for voting, has been touring the British Isles for two years, never being more than a fortnight in any one county. Can he vote at a parliamentary or municipal election, and if so, why ?

7. A family has asked for " outdoor relief." You are a relieving officer and go to find out their circumstances. Describe two cases—the one in which you would not give immediate relief, and the other in which you would give it.

8. There are many possible reasons why electors do not turn up to vote at an election. Can you suggest some good reasons as well as some bad ones ?

9. What are the chief causes of poverty ?

10. What should be the aims of the poor laws ?

11. It is claimed that the State should be responsible for finding either work or maintenance for every citizen. Do you agree with this ? Give your reasons.

12. What do you think of the suggestion that no one should have a vote unless he or she had reached a certain level of education ?

CHAPTER V

OUR LOCAL INSTITUTIONS—*continued*

The District Council

So far we have dealt with the smallest public bodies, the parish meeting and the parish council, as well as with the overseers of the poor, who are appointed by the parish council. In English local government a bigger body with much greater powers is the district council. There are two sorts of district council: the one appointed to look after the interests of a country area, and the other of a town. The Latin word for country is *rus*, and for a town *urbs*, so you will understand why the one council is called *rural* and the other *urban*. The letters R.D.C. and U.D.C., so often seen on carts and trucks and road repair apparatus, should no longer puzzle our readers.

In Scotland the duties of the district council are in the hands of district joint committees appointed by the county council (*see* p. 76).

Besides looking after the water supply and the drains, and controlling all other sanitary matters, these district councils may inspect lodging-houses and workshops, dairies, bakeries, and laundries, because it is from these places that germs of disease are most likely to be spread.

They may also inspect the food that is sold in the district, and it is well that they should exercise this power to the fullest extent, for there are some unscrupulous people who adulterate food, and so poison our people slowly, and lower the vitality and physique of the nation. Good food and good air are necessities of our existence; that is why some of our poorer children are given

meals at school, and why slums are being abolished gradually.

The people who adulterate food deserve to be severely punished, and you can do no better work as a citizen than to bring such people to justice. Doubtful articles of food should be submitted to the public analyst, who is obliged to examine them for a small fee.

Some district councils have another very important duty to perform, namely, to look after elementary education. Some district councils also undertake trading activities, such as the management of tramways, gas works, etc.

Any one of you may become a district councillor, and if you happened to be selected as chairman, you would become a county magistrate, and be entitled to put J.P. (justice of the peace) after your name. You may be a district councillor for three years without re-election, but usually one-third of the councillors retire each year, so that elections are frequent, and everyone has a chance.

The City and the Borough (or Burgh)

Borough and burgh are the same in meaning and pronunciation, the former being English and the latter Scottish.

If we visit any of the large towns in Great Britain, we shall find large offices, houses and shops, fine bridges, and wide streets, all lit by electricity. But this is very modern. A hundred years ago there were no street lamps, and the only light to be had was from oil lanterns and tallow candles.

Few of the streets were paved, and people threw their refuse out of the window anywhere. No wonder there were plagues in those days. It was not safe for anyone to go out at night because of the darkness, and because there were no policemen. Only a few watchmen walked up and

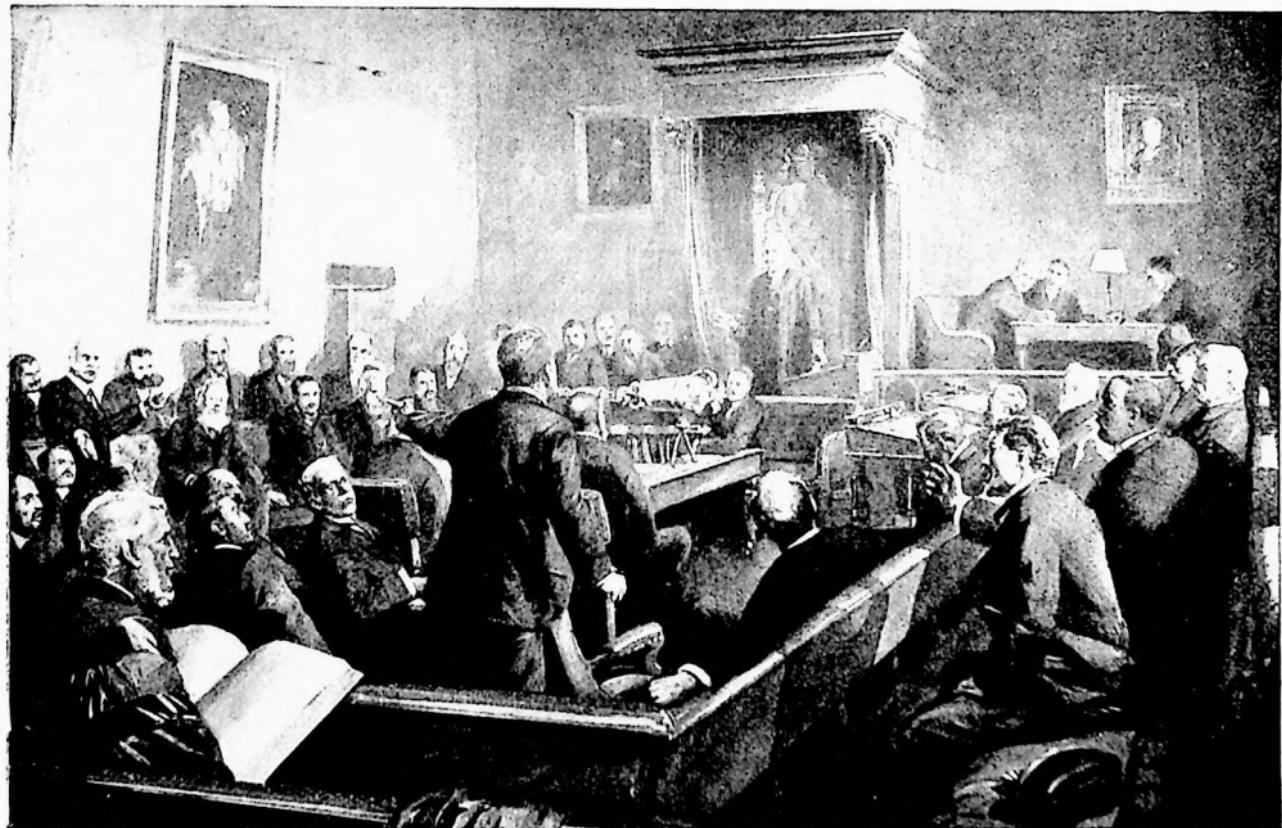
down, ringing a bell to let people know they were near. How different from our policemen, with their noiseless boots and dark lanterns !

The watchman acted also as a kind of weather prophet and news agency. People would look out of their windows when his bell rang and ask, " Watchman ! what of the night ? " He would tell them all the scandal as well as all the important news, if they gave him the opportunity. Now all this sounds very picturesque, but it was not safe and it was not healthy.

There was no local government worthy of the name at that time, and it was not until 1829 that the policeman first made his appearance. Probably you have heard the policeman called " bobby " or " peeler." That is because he was introduced by Sir Robert Peel.

Great changes have come over the city and the borough since then. About 1834 it was discovered that some of the magistrates at Malmesbury could neither read nor write, while at Retford a magistrate amused himself by fighting a prisoner. Even in London there were great abuses ; only a few people could vote ; and one side of the road was watered in the morning and the other in the evening, so that the inhabitants had the dust all day. All this had to be remedied ; and one reform after another was made, until in 1888 every borough and every city had its council, and almost every man was given the vote.

There are several kinds of burghs in Scotland, the most important of which are royal burghs. You have perhaps read in your newspaper of the Convention of Royal Burghs. It is a conference of representatives from all the towns in Scotland. It meets on the first Tuesday of April every year. There are about 150 burghs represented by almost 300 delegates. At these meetings all kinds of municipal problems are discussed and views upon them exchanged.



THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF A CITY

Besides the royal burghs there are two other notable classes. The first is the parliamentary burgh. In a great city where a number of members of Parliament are elected there may be several parliamentary burghs though only one town council representing one royal burgh. Edinburgh, though a single city, contains four parliamentary burghs : Edinburgh Central, Edinburgh East, Edinburgh South, and Edinburgh West.

The second class is the police burgh. Places of less than 700 inhabitants are not allowed to have a constabulary of their own, but must allow their property to be protected by the county police. There are some small towns with more than 700 inhabitants which have been made into police burghs by Act of Parliament, that is, they are given powers to maintain and control a police force. By an Act of 1892 further concessions have been made to these "police burghs." Cleansing, paving, lighting, and sanitation are now provided for locally.

Some of you will perhaps ask what is the difference between a city and a borough, between a citizen and a burgess. There is none to-day except that a city is generally a large town and a borough may be only part of a town. But in days gone by a city was chiefly an ecclesiastical town, that is, there was a cathedral there, while a borough, or burh (as it was once spelt) was a fortified town under the protection of some noble, or the king. Both have the same forms of government and the same privileges.

The Town Council

How many of you have seen the Lord Mayor's show ? It is held every year in London during the month of November, to introduce the newly elected mayor to the people, and to impress upon them the wealth and power of the Corporation of the City of London.



GEORGE SQUARE AND MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS, GLASGOW

About the same time, in every town and borough throughout Great Britain, new chairmen are being elected to preside over the town councils. These town councils are more important than parish or district councils, and the town-hall or town-house, in which they meet, is usually a magnificent building, costing thousands of pounds to erect, and often containing many pictures and other works of art.

The chairmen of these councils are styled "mayors," or in Scotland "provosts"; and in great cities, like London and Edinburgh, they are "lord mayors" or "lord provosts." The councillors are elected for three years. English councils may also elect a limited number of aldermen, either from among themselves or from among other prominent citizens. Scottish councils elect *bailees* in the same way.

The mayor or provost is always considered the first person of importance in his town. He wears a chain and robes worthy of his office, and he sometimes receives a salary to cover the expenses of subscribing to local charities and receiving distinguished visitors, as he is expected to do.

Much of the work of these councils is done by committees, appointed from among the council. The town clerk, who acts as secretary to the council, is usually a lawyer.

There are several kinds of boroughs. The most important are the county boroughs and the metropolitan boroughs. The former have the entire management of their own affairs, and rank equally with the county councils. They have their own police forces and fire brigades. The metropolitan boroughs are found only in the suburbs of London, and have not the same independence; they perform a great deal of the same work as the parish and district councils do in the country.



THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW

This procession is representative of Lord Mayors of former days. The best known of the Mayors, Sir Richard Whittington, is shown in the front of the procession, with the tower of Bow Bells rising in the distance

The City of London itself stands apart. It has its own police, and its own government conducted by the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and common council, the latter being elected by the freemen of the city, the liverymen of the guilds or city companies, and rated occupiers of premises.

These city companies are very wealthy and very powerful; they are also very benevolent, and they bestow large sums upon educational and charitable institutions. They are the representatives of the old trade guilds, which played so great a part in the struggle for freedom and self-government.

The Goldsmiths' Company, the Fishmongers' Company, the Haberdashers' Company, the Apothecaries' Company, the Braziers' Company, and the Skinners' Company were among the most famous; they still meet in their city halls, although much of their ancient power has passed away. When we visit the city and see their old haunts, we must always remember the great work which they did in their time. London and the other great towns of England were the home and the heart of freedom, and their councils were the first elective and representative institutions.

Besides the provost Scottish town councils elect from their number a Dean of Guild, and a treasurer. The latter office explains itself, but the office of Dean of Guild is not so simply understood.

In days gone by, the town councils of Scotland had considerable powers relating to the regulation of trade. The workmen of the town were organized into guilds or trade-clubs, and they sent a representative called the dean to the council to look after their interests. His duties now are restricted to passing plans for new buildings and alterations.

Even to-day the town councils undertake great works which the smaller councils could never attempt. Many

of the great canals of this country have been constructed by them, and great waterworks have been planned by them, so that fresh and pure water might be brought into the city from many miles away in the country. They have laid out pleasure grounds and parks, opened picture galleries and museums, taken over the control of gas and electricity, and initiated the excellent system of electric trams which is now found working in every town and city in Great Britain.

Furthermore, they have initiated and carried important measures through Parliament, and thus proved themselves worthy successors of those old burgesses and citizens, who, as members of the merchant and craft guilds in the Middle Ages, withstood both the king and the nobles in the assertion of their rights, and gave the whole realm, in times of distress or success, of war and peace, a noble lesson in the performance of their duty.

The County Council

The most powerful of all local councils is the county council. It is of much higher standing than the parish and district councils, to which it stands in the relation of a supervisor. The county council does not, however, manage all affairs within its geographical boundaries. There are about seventy large towns in England called county boroughs, which, on account of their size and importance, conduct their own affairs. Thus the county council of Leicestershire, while controlling the civic affairs of by far the greater portion of the county, has no voice whatever in the administration of the affairs of the city of Leicester, which has a population of about 275,000. Similarly the county council of Aberdeenshire has no authority in regard to the education of the city of Aberdeen. The county borough councils possess powers similar and equal to those of the county councils.

The work of a county council is extremely varied. It has to keep in repair the main roads and bridges, or pay the district council to do so ; it also controls and maintains lunatic asylums, reformatories, and industrial schools. It has power to build new bridges or buildings, to alter boundaries, to divide the county into polling districts for voting purposes, to license theatres, music halls, or any other place for music and dancing, and to decide the number of parish councillors, or whether a parish shall have a council. It may also lend money to the parish councils.

The county council has many other duties. Among the most important are the administration of education, the general supervision of matters relating to the public health, and the partial control of the county police. The county council does most of its work through committees, of which the most important are the finance committee, the education committee, and the standing joint committee. The first two of these explain themselves. The standing joint committee is composed of county magistrates as well as members of the county council ; it controls the county police force.

The county councillors are elected every three years. Some councils number twenty-eight members, others over a hundred. The chairman becomes a justice of the peace, and sometimes receives other honours ; he is elected for one year only, but is usually re-elected.

The area under the county council is generally the same as the old shire, from which it takes its name ; but some large English shires, like Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, contain several divisions, each of which has its own county council.

In the large shires of Scotland, the county council, in order the better to perform its many duties, appoints district joint committees. The members are the county



NEW LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL HALL, WESTMINSTER

councillors for the district, and one representative from each parish council included in the district.

These district committees do the same work as that of the English district councils, already described on p. 66.

The county councils appoint a medical officer of health who, with the help of a sanitary inspector, keeps watch over the health and well-being of the people.

NOTES

Aldermen. (Anglo-Saxon *caldor*, elder.) Aldermen of the city of London are elected for life, and they are not elected by the councillors as in other English towns, but by the freemen of the city. There are twenty-six aldermen, including the Lord Mayor, and each is a justice of the peace. In Scotland they are called bailies.

Bailie. French *bailli*, a magistrate.

Borough or *Burgh*. (Anglo-Saxon *burgh*.) The original meaning of this word was a hill or piece of rising ground. Castles were usually built in elevated positions, and private houses, churches, and other buildings were often gathered under the baronial castle walls for protection in unsettled times. Hence the word has come, by stages, to mean the collection of people gathered together, with their buildings, laws, etc., whether on a hill or not.

Council. From the Latin *con*, together, and *calare*, to call. A number of people called together to consider and discuss certain matters.

Mayor. (Latin *major*, greater.) One with greater authority than his fellows; hence, the chief magistrate of a city.

Provost. Latin *prae + positus*, placed in front of: hence, one placed in front of his fellows.

PROBLEMS

1. Whether you live in town or country, there are sure to be several public features of interest. Considering your school the centre of a circle, make a rough plan on the lines of the example given on p. 79, showing the chief public buildings, parks, etc., within a one-mile radius. Be sure to show the directions north, south, etc.

2. Write down the names of the following public representatives

in your district, and say where one could call on them or write a letter to them if necessary—

The member (or members) of Parliament for your borough or county.



Any justice of the peace you know of.

The chairman of the local education committee.

The director of education.

The school doctor.

The registrar of births, marriages and deaths.

Any member of the board of guardians.

3. Give some details of what you think would be the duties and procedure of the finance committee of a borough council.

4. Who should be informed immediately it is known that a person has a serious and infectious disease ?

What steps will this person take ?
What is the proper method of *isolating* the patient ?
Describe the method of carrying this out.
5. There are certain things one cannot do legally without first obtaining a licence. Make a list of all such cases you can think of.
6. Where are your nearest public swimming baths and wash-houses ?
7. Draw a rough map of your nearest park, and mark off the various spaces that are used for special purposes, such as tennis, boating, etc.
8. How does defective housing affect people physically and morally ?

CHAPTER VI

OUR LOCAL INSTITUTIONS—*continued*

Public Library and Museum

THE education of the good citizen only begins at the school ; it is never finished ; and it is never too late to learn. You can always tell the scholar from the smatterer, and the wise man from the fool, by the way in which they use their knowledge. The man who knows only very little thinks he knows everything ; but the more a man really knows, the more he realizes how much he has yet to learn.

There are other places of education besides the school and the university ; and the most important, perhaps, are the public library and the public museum. Almost every parish now possesses a free public library with a reading room and, sometimes, a writing room.

Here one may read of all the wisdom of the ages, from the time of the mighty Pharaohs and the mysterious Sphinx to the present day ; here one may sit in silent contemplation of the deeds of great men who have long since left this world, and yet who seem to live again in books ; here one may get glimpses into the future through the written thoughts of some genius gifted with foresight and imagination. All this is free to our citizens, and, if they wish, they may borrow the books to read at home.

Few of our ancestors enjoyed this privilege, for public libraries have come into general use only during the last half-century. Every parish may now have its public library, if the majority of the people wish for one ; but as the council is restricted to a small expenditure of money

for this purpose, you will have to go to the county town, or some other large city, if you wish to see and use the best public libraries. In London the most valuable books may be found in the Guildhall Reference Library, which is open free every week-day, or in the British Museum Library, to which the publishers are obliged to send a copy of every book that is printed. The Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, which is also entitled to this privilege, contains a very fine collection of books.

Museums and art galleries are usually too costly for the village and the small town, but they, also, are institutions of education. When you go into a great city, like London, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Cardiff, do not forget to visit the principal museums there.

In these places you may gaze upon a collection of animal, bird, and vegetable life, as well as works of art, from parts of the world which you will never perhaps be able to visit. You may study with eager curiosity and wonderment the specimens of animals and birds which have long ceased to exist, and the rude implements of uncivilized men, of whose history we know nothing except what we can gather from these primitive articles, because they lived and died before history was written.

The Public Baths and Washhouses

With all our educational institutions, however, it is of little use training the mind unless the body be kept pure and in good condition. This can be done only by cleanliness and healthy exercise of every bodily function, for which the public baths of our large towns afford excellent facilities. Well equipped baths for swimmers and non-swimmers have been provided out of the local rates in almost every town, and in most of the larger cities there are open-air swimming baths where bathing can be enjoyed under the clear sky.



ART GALLERY, GLASGOW

Swimming is not only conducive to cleanliness, but it exercises every limb and every muscle ; and next to being good citizens, you should all try to become strong, healthy, and vigorous men and women. By learning to swim, also, you are preparing yourself against accidents on the sea or river, or at the seaside ; and you may perhaps be able to save some fellow-creature's life.

Our ancestors had no such privileges or opportunities as these. Still less would they have dreamed of public washhouses, where overworked mothers could do their washing under better conditions and with better appliances than at home.

Few of these ancestors, perhaps, had washhouses even in their own homes ; but then they did not live in great cities where every house is cut off with the least possible garden, and the poor have to dry their clothes on the roof, or by hanging them on lines inside their only living room. Nor did they live in a country village where much of the land is "private," where boards proclaim that "trespassers will be prosecuted," or motor-cars dash by, smothering everything and everybody in the dust they leave behind them.

Our ancestors had their troubles, however, and they were not so well looked after as we are to-day. People sometimes talk about the "good old days," but they forget what misfortunes people then had to suffer.

The Public Health

You have all read of the Great Plague of London, which brought such misery and death into that city in 1665. This was not the only terrible disease from which our people have suffered at different times. The Black Death, cholera, small-pox, diphtheria, and other infectious and contagious diseases have periodically visited not only our

towns, but our country villages, paralysing business and causing panic among the people.

Sometimes diseases have been brought here by dirty, ill-fed refugees from Russia, Germany, and other countries, coming to our shores for employment, or on their way to America. Sometimes they have been brought by infected merchandise, but more often still, perhaps, they have



OPEN-AIR SWIMMING BATH, BROCKWELL PARK, LONDON

been caused by our own bad drainage, our crowded slums and factories, and the adulteration of our food.

Less than a hundred years ago the sewage of a town was emptied into the nearest stream or river, so that by the time it had passed through a few towns and villages, these rivers were sewage streams, carrying filth and germs of disease wherever they flowed. Less than fifty years ago, many people were herded together in cellars unfit for human habitation, while others were permitted to build

houses over cesspools, without paying attention to any of the laws of health.

In our day, sanitation has become a science, and is taught in most of our schools. Small-pox and typhus have almost disappeared in this country, and many other infectious and contagious diseases have been checked. Most of the modern houses of the middle classes as well as many working class dwellings now contain bathrooms.

To what is all this change due ? Partly to education, and partly to science. But neither of these alone could have produced so great a change in so short a time. They have been obliged to work together, and they have had to get material force behind them. This force has been supplied by local government administered by local councils.

Commons, Parks, and Recreation Grounds

We cannot go far upon any main road without passing a large common or heath. Seats are placed here and there ; good paths are cut across the common in every direction, and artificial lakes have been made. This is the work of the local councils. Most of these large tracts of ground belonged at one time to the adjacent village or manor for the use of all the inhabitants ; but about the eighteenth century several landowners began to encroach upon these open spaces, and to enclose parts of them with hedges or walls for their own use. These encroachments, although sanctioned by Act of Parliament, became so serious that, after many years had passed, it was necessary to put the remaining commons and heaths under control. The parish, district and town councils are principally responsible for looking after these open spaces, and for providing more where necessary.

The town councils have taken full advantage of this citizen right. Thus the Leeds Corporation acquired

Roundhay Park, once a gentleman's mansion and grounds with picturesque woods and lakes. This is now a public recreation ground, where boating, skating, music, and open-air dancing may be enjoyed. The famous beautiful gardens in Princes Street, Edinburgh, were laid out at public expense, and are a joy not only to the Edinburgh people but to all visitors. Scotland has always been fortunate in having many public golf courses, but within the last few years a large number of municipal golf courses have been laid out in England.

Some of the county councils have acted similarly. The London County Council, which is the controlling authority for most of the parks around London, has, in particular, secured thousands of acres from being built upon, and has purchased many a private park for a public recreation ground.

Some of the large public parks in London belong to the Crown, and are not under the management of the London County Council. These royal parks are under the direct control of the Government and are paid for out of the national taxes. Such is Hyde Park, where great statesmen, artists, authors, and other eminent people may be seen riding, driving, or walking. Another such park is St. James's Park, adjoining St. James's Palace, a favourite resort of young people, especially for fishing.

In most of these parks bands play during the summer ; and in many of them games of all kinds are permitted to be played at certain times of the year. You can see for yourselves at what times and places these games may be played by looking at the notice boards which are to be found in every park or recreation ground. You will also notice the warning not to pick flowers or destroy shrubs, trees, etc. Many private parks which were once open to the public have been closed because such notices were disregarded. The councils and the Government provide

keepers and policemen to see that these rules are observed, and it is our duty to assist them.

In 1922 the London County Council came to an important decision regarding the use of public parks on Sundays. Up to then one could walk, sit, or lie in these open spaces on that day, but organized games were forbidden. Now, however, cricket, football, lawn tennis, net-ball, and other games may be played. The decision just mentioned was not arrived at without a good deal of opposition and argument, for, in spite of the present-day opinion that Sunday should be a day of "freedom" for everybody, there are still many who wish to maintain the old solemn, puritanical kind of Sunday observance.

During the Great War of 1914-1918 the shortage of food became so serious in this country that many of the public parks, or parts of them, were converted into allotments that were let out to "allotment-holders" for the purpose of growing vegetables and generally assisting in food production. In this way, too, the parks served a very useful purpose at a critical time.

These commons, parks, and heaths are the lungs of our large cities, and their value is inestimable in making the lives of our citizens brighter, happier, and healthier.

The People's Education

The history of the school is as old as that of the church. In the days when most disputes were settled by the sword, those people who wanted peace and learning sought refuge in the monasteries, where the monks taught them all that they wanted to know.

Later on, the monks used to select those boys who showed special ability, no matter how poor they were, and sent them to the university. Thus ploughboys became bishops and lawyers at a time when kings and nobles could neither read nor write.



PRINCES STREET GARDENS AND SIR WALTER SCOTT MONUMENT, EDINBURGH

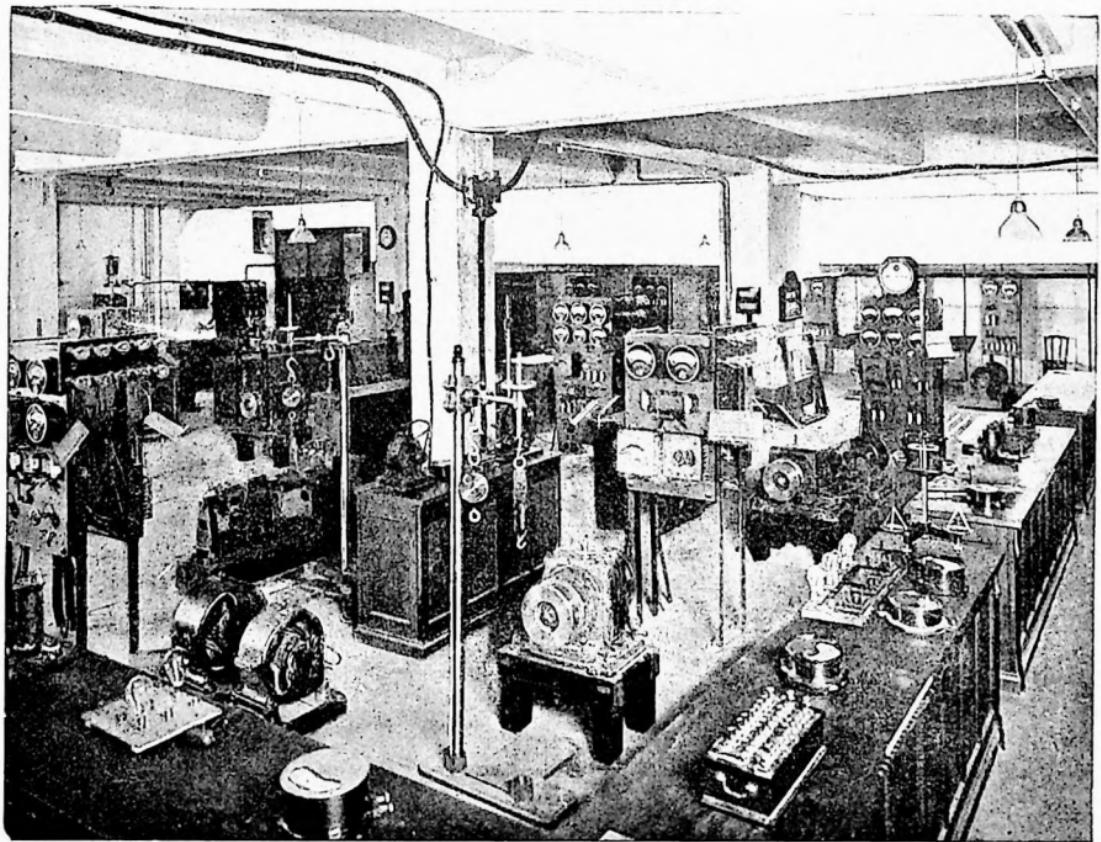
The kings and nobles soon found that "knowledge was power"; so they were obliged to learn as well as to fight, and as they were very jealous of the power which the church and the people might exercise through education, they tried to prevent the masses from having such knowledge, until at last, when for various reasons the monasteries were closed, the poor were left uneducated.

Grammar schools were then built for the middle classes, and one or two charity schools, like the Bluecoat School, were put up for the most diligent of the poorer people. The middle classes then became jealous of these charity schools, and managed to use them for their own children, so that for a long time the poor people continued in a state of ignorance.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century Sunday schools were opened, and, strange as it may seem to you, reading, writing and arithmetic were at first taught in these schools to any poor people who attended. So crowded did these schools become, and so anxious were people to learn, that day schools were opened, and the Government gave money to help them.

Then almost everybody began to think that they could open schools and teach. If some of us could go back to the time when our grandfathers and grandmothers were boys and girls, we should scarcely be able to keep from laughing at some of the schools and their teachers.

Suppose that some morning when you went to school you found that, instead of the fine building and airy rooms to which you are accustomed, there was nothing but a stuffy bedroom or unsavoury kitchen in which to learn your lessons. Suppose, also, that instead of the well-educated teachers who have given a lifetime to their profession, you found that you were expected to learn from discharged barmaids or servants, lodging-house



REGENT STREET POLYTECHNIC, LONDON—THE ELECTRICAL LABORATORY

keepers, milliners, and people who could scarcely write or add up a column of figures. Yet such was the state of many of our schools in 1859. Thousands of children, consequently, did not go to school at all.

Then the Government "woke up." In 1870, the Elementary Education Act was passed. Board schools were built all over the country ; proper teachers were appointed and registered ; and parents were forced to send their children to school. At first a small charge was made for the children's education, but later the board schools were opened free to all, and evening classes were started for those who wished to continue their studies after they had left school and begun to earn their own living.

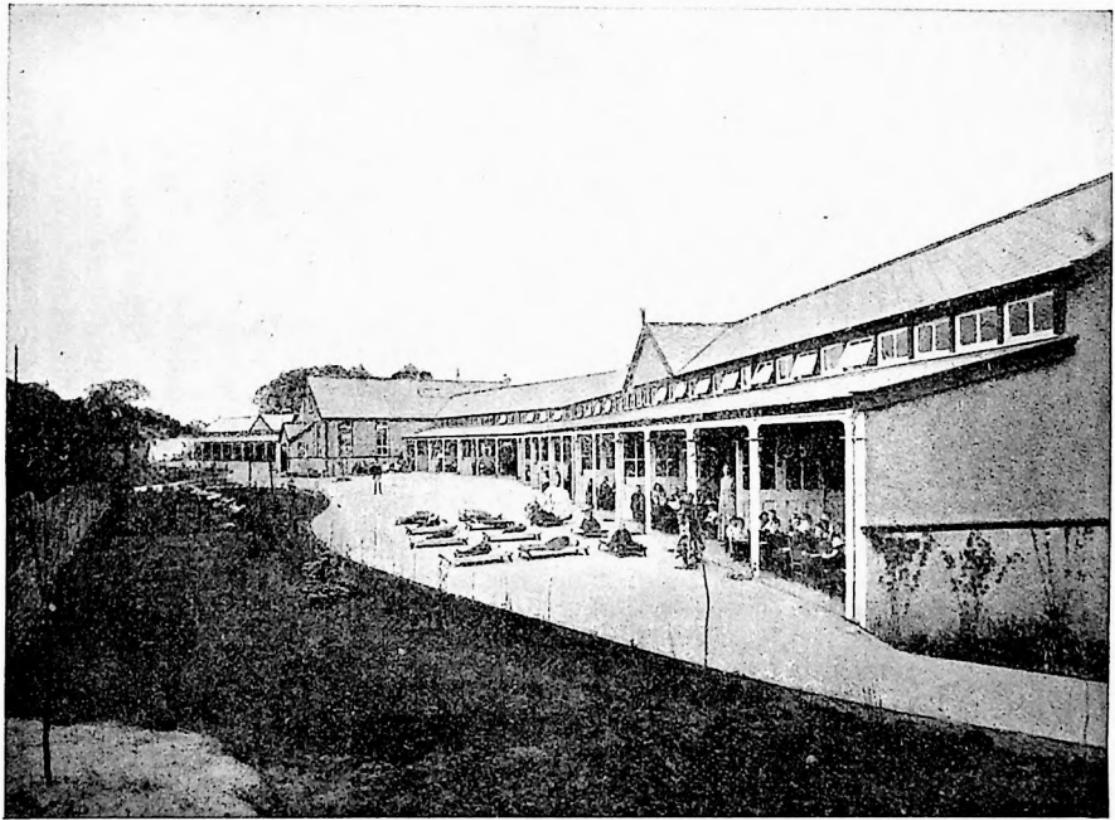
These schools are now called council schools, because they are under the control of the district, borough or county councils. These councils appoint managers, correspondents, and inspectors to visit the schools, and to do all they can for their advancement. His Majesty's Inspectors from the Board of Education pay occasional visits to see that the councils are using their educational authority well, and if they find everything satisfactory, they recommend grants of money from the State funds to assist this work.

Scottish Education

Education in Scotland proceeded on rather different lines. James IV caused a law to be passed making it necessary for all barons and freeholders to send their sons to school.

These schools were called high schools or academies, and were only for the rich and middle classes. But even the poor, who in England were neglected for many centuries after the closing of the monasteries, had the parish schools in Scotland to help them on.

In 1696 an Act was passed compelling the heritors in every parish to build a suitable schoolhouse, and pay a



By permission of

The Glasgow Education Committee

BURNSIDE SPECIAL SCHOOL FOR INVALID CHILDREN, GLASGOW

salary of 200 marks, about £11 a year, to the teacher. In these schools boys of promise were trained by excellent teachers who sent the cleverest of them to the university. This system later on began to be rather old-fashioned, and when, during the nineteenth century, the towns grew so enormously, there were not enough schools for all the children. Further, in some districts the schools themselves that were once commodious in former times, were now hopelessly inadequate and old. Some parents, too, were selfish, and even when they could did not give their children the opportunity to acquire a good education. Others were compelled to make their boys and girls go out to work when they were still quite young, because of extreme poverty.

To remedy this state of affairs the Scottish Education Act of 1872 was passed. Its effect was similar to that which followed the English Education Act of 1870. Many schools were built, teachers were properly trained, education became compulsory, and evening classes were instituted. An interesting point of difference between English and Scottish elementary schools is that, while in the former there are usually separate departments for boys and girls, in Scotland the schools are mostly co-educational, that is, boys and girls are mixed in the classes. In 1918 Scotland followed the example that England had set some years previously in doing away with the School Board system and establishing central Education Authorities.

Educational Opportunities To-day

Most education authorities in Great Britain offer a number of scholarships for competition among the more clever boys and girls. By the aid of these, it is possible for the children of the poorest parents to go from the elementary school to the central and secondary schools, where languages, science, and other higher subjects are

taught, and from which it is possible to win extra scholarships that will take the winners to the university, and pay for all their expenses while they are there.

Those who are not fortunate enough to win one of these scholarships, and whose parents cannot afford to keep them at school after fourteen or sixteen years of age, can still continue their studies at the evening schools, at which are taught many subjects that will advance young men and young women in business and in culture.

In every large town in Great Britain there is a large choice of evening schools which anyone may attend, according to his attainments and tastes. The necessary fees are usually only a few shillings each term. There are commercial schools, which specialize in the teaching of subjects that will be specially useful in business—such as shorthand, typewriting, commercial correspondence, modern languages, and the elements of law. On the scientific side there are the smaller or junior technical schools, leading to the great technical colleges. The girl who wishes training in domestic science will receive it at various women's evening institutes where needlework, millinery, cookery, and other such subjects are taught. Those who wish to study art can do so at the evening schools of art.

It is comforting to know that special methods are employed for the education of the afflicted boys and girls of our country. There are special schools, with specially trained teachers, for the deaf and dumb; others for the blind; others again for children who are not robust and who need plenty of fresh air. A photograph of such a school is given on p. 93. Much less than fifty years ago there were no "special" schools, and afflicted children just remained uneducated. Now they are well cared for and well taught, so that they may be able to live useful and happy lives.

NOTE

School. It is interesting to note that the Latin and Greek words, *schola* and *scholē*, in which the word "school" had its origin, meant *leisure*, or something in which leisure is employed—such as discussions, lectures, and the like. One of the aims of social workers is, as it should be, to secure shorter working hours for working people in order that they may have time or leisure to devote to appreciation and enjoyment of literature, art, music, and the like.

PROBLEMS

1. Write down the proper name of the: (a) public library ; (b) museum ; (c) art gallery nearest to your school, and say in each case how far away it is. Also give particulars of how you can gain admittance to each. Describe, as far as you can, how a public library is conducted.

2. "The boy who plays truant wilfully wastes his parents' and other people's money." This is a perfectly true statement ; explain it.

3. If your school is not a "private" one, do you know the name of the "authority" that governs it ?

4. There are many kinds of schools in every town. Make a list of as many kinds as you know of and write down opposite each name what its special purpose is : for example—

ART SCHOOL. Gives training in Art subjects, such as drawing, painting, clay modelling, etc. The students are either adults or young people who have left the day school.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL. Provides an elementary education for pupils up to 14 or 15 years.

At which of the kinds of schools you have mentioned must fees be paid ? Is it possible to attend these without paying fees ? If so, how ?

5. If you attend a council school you are exercising your legal rights to education, and you are also expected to carry out certain duties. Can you think of a few of each of these ?

6. At present there is a great deal of discussion regarding the amount of money spent on public education. One section thinks too much is being spent in this way, and another thinks that more should be spent. What have you to say about it ?

7. If there were neither a public library nor a recreation ground in a village, how would a private citizen proceed in order to secure them ?

8. If you were a local councillor, what improvements in your district would you like to suggest ?

CHAPTER VII

OUR LOCAL INSTITUTIONS—*continued*

The Coroner, the Lord-Lieutenant, and the Sheriff (England)

THE appointment of several officials rests with the county council. One official in particular deserves notice, the county coroner. His office dates from the year 1194, when he was an elected and not an appointed official, whose duty it was to check the rising power of the sheriff. At one time this officer used to inquire into fires, sudden deaths, and discoveries of treasure, besides having various other powers. Now he only holds inquests on sudden deaths in cases where it is not perfectly clear that the person died from natural causes, and especially where there is the least suspicion that death has been due to foul play; and occasionally, perhaps, inquires into some treasure trove. When he holds his inquest, he can command the services of twelve citizens to act as a jury.

The county coroner holds office for life, unless removed by the Lord Chancellor for misconduct or incompetence. The county council appoints but cannot dismiss him. You must not suppose, however, that all coroners are county officers, or hold office in this way. Boroughs which have a separate court of quarter sessions, and a population of not less than 10,000, elect their own coroners. There are also certain places in England where the lord of the manor may appoint a coroner, and in one manor in Essex the tenants have this privilege.

Two important officers of the county are not elected by the county council. They are the lord-lieutenant and the

sheriff. The first, who acts as the principal justice of the peace in the county and as the king's representative at any important county function, is appointed by the Crown, and is usually a peer, or a large landowner. He also commands the county Territorial Force, and proposes to the Lord Chancellor the names of suitable persons for the office of justice of the peace. He is allowed to appoint deputy-lieutenants to act in his place. You may know these gentlemen by the letters "D.L." after their names. The duties of the lord-lieutenant in Scotland and the conditions of appointment are the same as in England.

The sheriff acts as the returning officer at the county elections. He also meets the judges when they come to the assizes, and he is considered next in rank to the lord-lieutenant of the county. At one time, before railways were introduced into this country, the sheriff escorted the judges from one boundary of the county to the other, meeting the neighbouring sheriff at each border, and receiving from him, or transferring to him, the responsibility. The picturesque "javelin men," who always accompany the sheriff, were, in those days, a really necessary armed force, to ensure the safety of the king's judges on the march. One of the sheriff's duties is to provide a hangman to execute death sentences, otherwise he must perform the duty himself.

The sheriff receives no salary for his services, and he cannot refuse the position if it is conferred upon him by the king; only wealthy men, therefore, are selected for election. At one time the sheriffs were appointed for life, but Edward III made a law that no sheriff should remain in the position longer than one year, and that annually, on All Souls' Day, new sheriffs should be elected by the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The date was changed by George II to the morrow of St. Martin's Day.

In accordance with this law, the judges of the High Court and the officers of the Exchequer meet every year, usually on 12th November, and prepare a list of suitable persons, three for every county. The list is submitted to the king, who, in privy council, signifies approval by "pricking," that is, by making a pinprick opposite the names of the officers who are to be elected sheriffs for the ensuing year.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire have only one sheriff between them. Middlesex had no independent sheriff until 1889, because in 1101 Henry I gave the right of appointing its sheriff to the city of London, which paid a rent of £300 for the county. The mayor and citizens of London appointed the sheriff of Middlesex until the Local Government Act of 1888 deprived them of this right.

The sheriffs of the counties of Cornwall and Lancashire are not elected in the manner we have just mentioned, because both of these counties are royal duchies. The former belongs to the Prince of Wales, who appoints his own sheriff; the latter belongs to the Crown and is nominally administered by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Besides these two exceptions, there are nineteen "counties of cities," or "counties of towns," each of which elects its own sheriff, the appointment being made by the council or corporation on the ninth of November in each year, immediately after the election of the mayor. These counties of cities or towns are entirely independent of the surrounding counties. They are really ancient boroughs, which have been given the special privilege of a county organization.

The city of London, although quite distinct from the county of London, also elects two sheriffs, subject, of course, to the approval of the Crown. These sheriffs are

appointed by the aldermen and liverymen of the city companies, and the Lord Mayor of London is always chosen from among those aldermen who have served as sheriffs. There is now also a sheriff of the "County of London"; but it should be remembered that London is only an administrative county, not a "shire" in the old sense, for it includes parts of the three shires of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent.

The Sheriff and the Procurator-Fiscal (Scotland)

The office of sheriff came into Scotland from England, but at a very early period. The first sheriff was the Sheriff of Scone in the reign of Alexander I, and by the end of the thirteenth century Scotland was divided into thirty-four sheriffdoms.

In those times two kinds of duties fell to the sheriff. He was in the first place a judge. It was the law of the land that he must hold a court every forty days, and be present in any court assembled by the barons or bishops. He represented the king, and looked after the royal interests. His power as a judge was very great, he being allowed to decide even upon the four pleas of the crown.

In addition to his judicial duties the sheriff was an executive officer. When, in the old days, the king wished to assemble the able-bodied men to fight for him against England, he sent a writ to the sheriff ordering him to muster the troops.

The Crown also appointed the sheriff its revenue officer. All monies which had to be paid to the king were collected by him, and he was responsible for them.

The modern sheriff is almost as powerful as the old one. He is nominated by the Government for life. No public body or council can then interfere with him. This you will see is wise, because the sheriff can give his judgments

and carry out his duties without fear. The sheriff must be an advocate. His powers are very numerous. Besides being the local judge of the county he is the returning officer at parliamentary elections, revises the electoral roll, and decides upon any matter connected with it.

To preserve peace in the county does not look difficult now that we have policemen and law-abiding citizens. But this state of matters did not always exist, and the sheriff's duty of superintending the police was a very onerous one in riotous times.

Before the Act of Union, the sheriff had to attend Parliament, but now he is disqualified from being a member of the House of Commons.

To help the sheriff in all these tasks the Government appoints sheriff-substitutes who must reside in the county. They usually preside over the ordinary courts. The sheriff-court has a wide jurisdiction. It deals with all questions relating to the poor law, lunacy, and bankruptcy.

The criminal who comes before the sheriff can be sentenced by him but not to more than two years' imprisonment. Serious cases are tried by jury.

In England the sheriff is not so important as in Scotland and receives no salary, while the Scottish sheriffs are handsomely remunerated.

We have already mentioned the English official, the Coroner, whose chief duty is to inquire into sudden deaths, and that his investigation is called an inquest. There is no such office in Scotland. As you may have guessed this inquiry is also the sheriff's duty. To assist him, however, he has an officer called the procurator-fiscal. Anyone who has come to a suspicious end is examined by medical men under his guidance.

The fiscal then draws up a statement of all the circumstances of the case, and, when the sheriff receives this,

he determines whether or not a prosecution shall be begun.

The Police Court

The police court is another important citizen institution. A morning's visit there will show us some of the saddest sights of life ; but without the police court the good and honest people would be constant sufferers at the hands of the wicked and the unscrupulous.

The courts of justice, of which our local police court is one, are the institutions through which every citizen is assured of justice and security. Laws are made by Parliament ; but laws are of no use unless they are obeyed. The courts of justice have to see that the laws are observed, and to punish those who offend against them.

Punishment is good for people who do unlawful deeds. If every man were caught and punished on his first committing a bad action, there would be very little wrong-doing. But if punishment is to be good for us, it must be administered justly, and that is another reason why we have police courts, and why every one is considered innocent until proved guilty.

Our modern police court is presided over by justices of the peace, in Scotland called "bailies." For many years, only wealthy men could become local magistrates, but it is possible now for any educated man to become one by being elected chairman of a district, borough, or county council.

Now let us suppose that you have been summoned to the police court for an offence. Perhaps it is for picking flowers or breaking down trees in the public recreation ground, riding on the pathway, throwing things out of a window—for you can be summoned for any of these acts. The local magistrate may fine or imprison you, if he thinks fit, or he may order you to be birched.

If you have been arrested for an ordinary assault, for obstruction, or for disturbing the peace, you may be taken



A SCENE DURING A STRIKE AT THE LONDON DOCKS, SHOWING POLICE ESCORTING TRANSPORT

to the police station and locked up for the night. But you must be charged before the magistrate next morning, because of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which says no man may be kept in prison without trial.

When you are brought before the court next morning, the magistrate's clerk, who is a solicitor and knows every point of the law, reads the charge. You may then call upon any witnesses in your defence, and you may cross-examine your accusers, or you may engage a lawyer to do all this for you.

All witnesses are sworn on oath ; so if they give false evidence they may be prosecuted and heavily punished for perjury. Everything that they say is taken down by the magistrate's clerk, and, if you are committed for trial, this evidence is sent to the judge who will try you at the superior court.

The local magistrate need not send you for trial unless he thinks fit, or unless you wish. He may try you by "summary jurisdiction," or, in other words, dispose of the case at once by discharging you, or by imposing a fine, or a term of imprisonment. But if you do not admit the offence, and claim a trial by jury, or if the magistrate thinks the evidence doubtful, you will have to be tried, in England, at the court of quarter sessions by a jury directed by a recorder, or by a bench of county magistrates presided over by a chairman ; or, in Scotland, at the sheriff court.

If the offence be very serious, as, for example, manslaughter, you may have to go before the English assizes or the high court of justiciary in Scotland, which corresponds to the English assizes, to be tried by a jury directed by a great judge.

The Assizes

If you live anywhere near a county town, do not miss a visit there when the assizes are held. These assizes

became common in the days of Henry II, who appointed judges to travel through the country to see that all his subjects had justice done them by the lords and landowners.

The assizes are now held about three times a year; public notice of the exact date is always given, and as the arrival of the judges is attended by great pomp and ceremony, the sight is well worth seeing.

Formerly, the high sheriff of the county used to ride in his state carriage, drawn by four horses with outriders, to meet the judges, but the state carriage is now giving place to the motor-car. He wears either a military uniform or court dress, and he is attended by trumpeters and javelin men in gorgeous liveries. The judges also have their marshals and attendants, and they are escorted by the sheriff to the assize courts, where a proclamation is read.

The next day business commences. The judge who sits in the crown court, where criminal trials take place, wears a scarlet robe trimmed in ermine. The judge who sits in the civil court, where libel actions, actions for breach of contract, and similar cases are tried, wears a black robe. Both wear wigs.

Now suppose that you have been committed for trial at the assizes. You will be brought into the criminal court. In a gallery, or on the right of the judge, sits the grand jury; on the left is the common jury; below the judge is the clerk, and facing him are the barristers.

The grand jury usually consists of about twenty-four local magistrates or gentlemen of repute, who consider the evidence before you are put on your trial, and they may discharge you, if they think the evidence insufficient. If the charge appears to be true, at least twelve of them

return a "true bill," which means that they allow you to be tried by the common jury of twelve citizens.

Trial by Jury

This trial by jury is a right which is much appreciated by every citizen, but there is attached to it also a duty, and a very responsible duty. Every person who has a vote or pays rates is liable to be called upon to serve on a jury, and no one dares refuse, unless a very good excuse can be put forward. Women who are qualified to vote are, equally with men, liable for service on a jury.

The prisoner has a right to object to any of the jury who may be prejudiced against him. He may call witnesses to support his side of the case, and question those who are witnessing against him. Generally, he engages a lawyer to do this for him, but if he cannot afford to do this, and the charge is very serious, the judge will find a lawyer for him, free of charge.

After the evidence, and after the lawyers on both sides have addressed the jury, the judge sums up, and points out to the jury any questions of law which they do not quite understand. Then they retire to consider their verdict. The next few moments, or it may be hours, are terrible both for the prisoner and the jury.

To act on a jury is, perhaps, the greatest responsibility an ordinary citizen can undertake. Upon your vote hangs the liberty, perhaps the life, of a fellow-creature. By a nod of your head, the uplifting of your hand, or an utterance of your voice, you may perhaps launch a human being into eternity, bring sorrow and poverty into a home, and cast a stigma for many years to come upon a respectable person, and maybe upon a whole family.

Yet if you do not do your duty, and pronounce a man not guilty when you really believe he is guilty, you are

letting loose upon your fellow-creatures a person who has shown himself careless of human life, or indifferent to suffering and the rights of others. Your own father, mother, sister, brother or friend may be his next victim.

If a prisoner be found "guilty," the judge passes sentence upon him. If he is found "not guilty," he is



THE CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT, LONDON : BETTER KNOWN
AS THE "OLD BAILEY"

The dome of St. Paul's Cathedral is seen faintly in the left background

discharged, and he cannot be tried again for the same offence. If he be found guilty of murder, the judge puts on a black cap and passes sentence of death. Prisoners found guilty at assizes have the right of appeal to "The Court of Criminal Appeal," where a number of judges weigh carefully all the evidence that came out at the former trial, together with any fresh evidence for or against prisoners. This court has the power to

annul, reduce, or increase sentences passed by a lower court.

There is a difference between a trial by jury in Scotland and a trial by jury in England. In all cases an English jury numbers twelve, but in Scotland the number is twelve in ordinary cases only: in criminal cases the jury numbers fifteen. A second difference is in the nature of the verdicts. In England in all cases the jury must unanimously agree, but in Scotland this is necessary only in civil cases: in criminal trials a majority for or against is accepted by the judge. The English juries, further, can only pronounce "Guilty" or "Not Guilty," but in Scotland it is permitted to the jury to come to a third finding, "Not Proven."

This administration of justice is the same for rich and poor. You cannot buy or sell justice in the British law courts. The judges, twenty-nine in all, are paid salaries of £5,000 a year, so that they shall have not the slightest excuse for taking bribes; and severe punishment would fall upon them if they dared to do so. They have all had to be distinguished lawyers before they could become judges, and they hold their appointments for life from the Crown through the Lord Chancellor.

The only way by which the judges can be removed is by an order from Parliament. This places them beyond intimidation from the most powerful and rich, and at the same time gives Parliament a hold over them, in case they should interpret the law which is made by Parliament in a way which might undermine our free institutions, as they did in the reigns of James I and James II.

We have said that the judges are appointed by the Lord Chancellor. He is the chairman of the House of Lords, and the head of our judicial system. He is always a Cabinet Minister, and we shall notice him again presently, when we come to notice the House of Lords.

NOTES

Assizes. Literally, a "sitting" or "session."

Coroner. (Latin *corona*, a crown.) Originally a special officer representing and carrying out the wishes of the "crown" or king. Coroners are now usually professional men, as solicitors or doctors.

Lord-Lieutenant. (Latin *locum tenens*, holding the place of another.) This title originated from the occasional appointment by the king of experienced persons to muster the inhabitants of counties where disturbances had arisen, for the purpose of establishing order.

Sheriff. (Anglo-Saxon *shire-reeve*, the steward or bailiff of the shire, i.e. the piece of land *shorn* off.) In early times he was next in authority in the shire to the earl and the bishop. His main duties were to preserve the peace and to punish crime.

PROBLEMS

Some of the following problems require careful thinking out. It is not enough to give a bare answer ; the reasons for your decisions must be given fully.

1. Where are the nearest police court, county court, and assizes to where you live ? Give a typical charge that would be heard at each of these.

2. In what court or courts would a person probably be tried for the following offences—

(a) Driving a motor-car beyond the speed limit ;

(b) Driving a motor-car beyond the speed limit and running over and killing a child ;

(c) Stealing a loaf ;

(d) Embezzling large sums of money over a period of years.

3. Why must owners of motor-cars carry number-plates ? Draw a number-plate, and explain the lettering you put on it.

4. What qualities would you look for in an efficient policeman ? The policemen in the illustration on p. 103 are on special duty. Why ; and what dangers are they intended to prevent ?

5. At a court of assizes who decides whether prisoners are guilty or not guilty ?

Who decides and pronounces sentences on guilty persons ?

6. What is the chief duty of the judge at a trial by jury ?

7. If you were an innocent person charged with a serious crime, would you prefer to be tried by a jury or by a judge alone ?

If there is fairly strong evidence that a person has committed a crime, do you think he has a better chance of acquittal when tried by a judge alone or by a jury ?

In both these cases, why ?

8. What are the advantages and the disadvantages of the Scottish verdict "Not Proven" ?

SECTION III

CHAPTER VIII

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

THE settled government of a country is called its "constitution." The British constitution has been built up, bit upon bit, through many centuries of use and custom. It is *unwritten*; that is, it has not been drawn up in the form of a charter or set of rules. Once a constitution has been *written*, or put into definite terms, it is extremely difficult to make any alteration to suit a new state of things or a sudden emergency.

One of the most important written constitutions in the world is that of the United States of America. After America gained her independence, her statesmen resolved to frame a brand new written constitution, so that every citizen should see exactly what the American form of government was. Further, there was included in the constitution itself the condition that, unless two-thirds of American voters are in favour of a change, the constitution cannot be altered. In practice this condition has been found very irksome, as there are many national matters over which it is unusual to find two-thirds of the people in agreement. The Americans are, therefore, in many respects bound by their constitution of 150 years ago. The British people are fortunate in having a perfectly satisfactory constitution which has grown with the needs of the people, and which is capable of alteration to suit new conditions. It has not in the least hampered our growth as a nation and as an empire.

The Sovereign

At the head of the kingdom is the sovereign. The king represents the nation in all matters of importance. In his name war is declared and peace is made ; he is the nominal head of the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force ; and the nominal head of the law and of the national Church. It has been explained, however, earlier in this book that in practice the king's power is subject to the will of the people. While this is true, the king still exercises a tremendous *influence* on national affairs. He has no private polities ; therefore he can give unprejudiced advice and make unbiased suggestions.

The king can do no wrong.

The king never dies.

The king owns all the land in the kingdom.

These three attributes are given to the sovereign by our laws. They refer to the king or queen only when either one or the other is the actual reigning sovereign, not as individuals. The wife of a king is not a sovereign, although we call her "queen." Nor is the husband of a reigning queen a sovereign : he is not even called a "king" ; he is only the "Prince Consort."

But, you will say, how can it be true that a sovereign never dies, and that he can do no wrong ? We know that every one has to die at some time or another, and that no man is so good that he can do no wrong. Quite true ! What the law really means is that the sovereignty or the kingship is never vacant, for the moment one king dies his eldest son becomes king, because our monarchy is hereditary, that is, it passes from the parent to the eldest son, or, failing any sons, to the eldest daughter. It is not elective, although in earlier times the king was twice elected, first by the nobles and people, and afterwards by the Church.

Our monarchy is also limited, that is, the king rules

only through his ministers in the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and therefore they alone are responsible for all the acts which are done in his name. It is in that sense only that the king can do no wrong.

With regard to the land, we know that most of the nobles, and many smaller freeholders own land in England. But the law recognizes the sovereign as the ultimate owner. If you have no sons or daughters to inherit your land, and you have made no provision in your will for it, it passes into "chancery," or the law court which administers the Crown estates.

If any land be reclaimed from the sea, or if any treasure be found hidden anywhere, or be thrown up by the sea, it belongs to the Crown. The king may himself own private property, but the whole land of England itself is held in trust by the sovereign for the nation.

Why Our Kings are Hereditary Monarchs

Some of you may ask: "Why do we want a king at all?" Other countries have a republican form of government; why should not we have the same? Or, if we like to call the head of our state a king instead of a president, why should we not elect him, instead of allowing him to come to the throne simply because he happens to be the eldest son of his father?

First of all, let us remember that the words "monarchy" and "republic" only stand for forms of government, not for government itself. It matters little what forms of government we have if we have good government. As our poet Pope wisely remarked—

"For forms of government let fools contest,
That which is best administered is best."

Now it is certain that the people are no better governed under great republics, such as that of the United States,



THE KING ON THE WAY TO OPEN PARLIAMENT, 1924

or that of France, than under a great monarchy, such as that of Great Britain ; it is doubtful indeed whether they are so well governed.

Look at the position of the Government and the servants of the Government in the United States of America. There the president of the republic has more power than our king, but, as he holds the office only for a few years, his party requires that he shall make the most of his power and his opportunities for those who have elected him to the high office. All the principal offices of the Civil Service are filled with his friends or supporters. When he ceases to be president they cease to be officials, for the new president wants their places and salaries for *his* friends and supporters.

The cost of the republican government is greater than our own, and much corruption and disorder prevail while the voting for the new president is taking place. We are, to a great extent, saved from this state of affairs by a limited monarchy.

But, why not an elective monarchy ? Well, if we had an elected king, it is doubtful if he could be trusted to reign with such little power as an hereditary monarch possesses, because he would be more open to temptation from each of the large powerful parties. If he could split these into small parties he could interfere a great deal with the government of the country.

He would also lack that special training which an hereditary king enjoys, not only from early boyhood through special tutors, but also from being constantly in the presence of, and having always to consult with, the most learned and capable ministers of state of each party. Not being dependent upon the votes of either party himself, the hereditary king is enabled to see the strength or the weakness of each, at the same time benefiting from both. While, therefore, the king's power is strictly

limited, the unique position which he enjoys makes it possible for him to exercise an extraordinary influence for good or ill, both upon the life and character of his own people, and upon the relations existing between them and foreign countries.

The Prime Minister

The Prime Minister is usually the leader of the party that has a majority in the House of Commons. His position is a very responsible one, since, although all affairs of state are conducted in the name of the sovereign, it is really the Prime Minister who is responsible for every measure submitted to Parliament. Naturally, the sovereign must be fully acquainted with the bills which, when passed by Parliament, he ratifies as laws ; and the Prime Minister frequently has audience of him in order to explain exactly what the Government is doing and the reasons for it. He is expected to do a lot of public speaking up and down the country, which involves much travelling and physical effort. High as is his position as virtual ruler of the country, his task is no easy or comfortable one. He is always subject to criticism by the members of parties who disagree with him in political principles, and often he finds it difficult to keep his own party from splitting up. Shakespeare's famous line, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," contained a striking truth in the days concerning which the words were written : that truth is now much more applicable to the Prime Minister.

The Cabinet

The king has always had round him a small body of advisers, called the Privy Council. As the number of these advisers constantly increased, the king began to

select a few to form an inner council. When William III came to the throne, he found among these select advisers two different sets of ideas which split the body into two parties, each acknowledging a different leader.

As the king could exercise more influence by pitting these parties against each other, he began to form his Cabinet of one party exclusively. This became so regular a custom that, when the Georges came to the throne and could speak very little English, the Cabinet became all-important, and those who offered themselves as candidates for Parliament joined either one party or the other, and called themselves "Whigs" or "Tories."

Later on, these names changed to "Liberals" and "Conservatives." Another powerful party has arisen in recent years—the Labour Party. Whenever one of the parties comes into power, that is, when it gets the majority of members from the elections, or succeeds another party that resigns from office, its leader forms a Cabinet of ministers, who are placed in charge of the principal offices of state, and who practically decide all the business of Parliament. In 1924, for the first time in the history of this country, the Labour Party came into office, and the majority of Cabinet Ministers appointed by the first Labour Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, were men who had, in the earlier years of their lives at least, been working men.

The constitution does not recognize the position of Prime Minister, so, in order to become a member of the Cabinet, he generally takes the position of First Lord of the Treasury, once an office of great importance but now purely nominal.

After the Prime Minister the most important ministers in the Cabinet are the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has charge of the Treasury, that is, the nation's money; the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, whose work is concerned

with Britain's relations with other countries. Other state officials who may be in the Cabinet are—

The Lord Chancellor.	The Minister for Health.
The Lord Privy Seal.	The President of the Board of Education.
The Secretary for Home Affairs.	The Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries.
The Secretary for the Colonies.	The Postmaster-General.
The Secretary for War.	The Secretary for Scotland.
The Secretary for India.	The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
The First Lord of the Admiralty.	
The President of the Board of Trade.	

Cabinet ministers always become privy councillors, and are addressed as "Right Honourable." Their meetings are held in secret, and none of the ministers may speak of anything that has taken place. Each minister has an equal voice in the control of affairs; but the king himself may not attend their meetings. At one time, in the reign of Queen Anne, these meetings were held on Sundays, and the sovereign was present, but since the time of Walpole it has practically become recognized that the king (or queen) shall not attend the Cabinet meetings.

At one time, also, only lords, landed gentry, or other people of means could become Cabinet ministers, but this exclusive right was broken down in 1905, by the genius, ambition, and sheer hard work of John Burns, an engineer who had become member of Parliament for Battersea. Since then other quite humble people have attained to this distinction.

The Party System of Government

It seems at first very strange, and almost wicked, for the ablest statesmen of our country to be constantly thwarting the bills and suggested reforms proposed by the opposite party. It also seems hard, when a man is elected to represent a city or a county, that he should be expected to give a blind obedience to the leader of his

party. Yet if we did not have this "party" government, we should have a number of smaller parties or factions, who would be constantly discussing and quarrelling about trivial questions and making little or no progress with legislation.

When a general election takes place, the three great political parties—Conservative, Labour, and Liberal—appeal to the people for votes upon certain principles, as well as upon particular measures of reform. Now while people may and do split themselves up into numerous "creeds" and "parties," most of them are found to have certain fixed principles, which are usually those held by one or other of the greater parties. But there is, besides, a fourth body of people who have no fixed opinions, who think that time and circumstances change all things, and who vote for one party to-day, and another to-morrow.

The party which obtains the majority of seats is called the "Government," and the others the "Opposition." The Opposition opposes the Government bills in the interests of the minority, often securing some amendment, and so rendering the measure less extreme. If they succeed in defeating the Government on any important bill, or carry a vote of "No Confidence" in the Government, the Government resigns, and the king calls upon the leader of the Opposition to form a new Government.

The success of a Government Bill being so important to the holders of office, "Whips" are employed to use every effort to bring all the members of the party to the House when the voting takes place, or is expected to take place. The Opposition also employ "Whips" to bring up all the votes they can against the Government. These whips are selected members of Parliament who are skilled in organization, men of particular energy, tact, and popularity. If any two members of opposite

parties wish to absent themselves for business or private reasons, they can consult their whips, who will arrange a "pair," which means that their votes are neutralized, but that they are given the credit of the votes they would have registered had they been there.

The whips have great influence in the party. A number of honours and decorations, such as knighthoods, baronetcies, peerages, privy councillorships, Orders of the Bath and of St. Michael and St. George, are bestowed upon the occasions of the king's birthday, the New Year, or the retirement of the Government; and lists of proposed candidates for these honours are prepared by the whips.

We have just spoken of "divisions," but have not explained the term. A division means the counting of members on each side of the House of Parliament in favour of, or against a certain bill. We shall notice, presently, how this division is taken.

When once a party is elected to the Government, it may hold office for five years, unless it be defeated on some important bill in the way we have just mentioned, or unless it think fit to "appeal to the country," or, in other words, to have another general election.

If the people approve of the new idea or new measure, the Government is re-elected for another five years; if not, the "Opposition" is elected, and the Opposition leader submits to the king a list of names from which it is proposed to form the new Cabinet. The king may object to any name, but he usually approves of the list, for the leader of any party is careful, as a rule, to select only those who will be acceptable. At the present day, with three main parties in Parliament, a general election would almost certainly follow.

There are many people who think that five years is too long a period for Parliament to sit; some have

suggested that a new Parliament should be elected every year ; others suggest every three years.

To understand the further details of our government, we must visit the Houses of Parliament when they are working. On ordinary days it is not difficult for anyone over 21 years of age to obtain a ticket for the House of Commons to hear the debates. All one has to do is to write to the member of Parliament who represents one's district.

But upon the opening day it is very difficult to get such a ticket ; and it is next to impossible for the ordinary citizen to get a ticket of admission for the House of Lords upon that day. It is in the latter house that the king formally opens Parliament by delivering the " King's Speech."

The King's Speech

The king, having entered the House of Lords and ascended the throne, formally opens Parliament. The speech which the king delivers is not really *his* speech, but that which the Prime Minister has specially written for him. It consists of a general view of political affairs at home and abroad, and outlines the policy of the new Government, and the bills which they hope to introduce during the session.

It is usually divided into three parts. The first and the third deal with Home and Foreign Affairs, and begin with " My Lords and Members," because these parts are addressed to both Houses. The second part begins with " Members of the House of Commons," because it deals with financial matters, with which the Lords have nothing to do. Sometimes the king alters it, as Queen Victoria did when Lord Palmerston composed a somewhat tactless speech ; but such a necessity rarely arises.

When the contents of the speech are finally decided

upon, the king signs it in the presence of the Privy Council, and, within a few days, the speech is either sent to the House of Lords to be read by the Clerk of that House, or else the king opens Parliament in person and reads it himself.

NOTE

Political Parties. Candidates for Parliament have various opinions as to how the country should be governed. There are three main parties, to one of which they usually belong: Conservatives (C.), Liberals (Lib.), the Labour Party (Lab.), and Socialists (Soc.). While all these parties introduce and support measures which they believe will benefit the country as a whole, each has characteristic features of its own. Speaking very generally we might say that the Conservatives are disinclined to change existing laws unless new conditions obviously call for changes; the Liberals are open to a moderate trial of new methods; while the Labour Party and the Socialists insist chiefly on the betterment of the poor and of the general conditions of workers. There are others, called Independents (Ind.), who join none of these parties, but who keep an open mind on all subjects, voting for a Labour or for a Conservative proposal according as it appears to be a good one.

PROBLEMS

1. Explain, in your own words, the difference between a written and an unwritten national constitution.
2. Write explanations (of about five lines each) of the expressions: "The king can do no wrong"; "The king never dies"; "The king owns all the land in the kingdom."
3. Compare the system of government of "a limited monarchy" with that of a "republic."
4. Write down the name of the British Prime Minister who you think has been the greatest; and add some of the reasons why you chose him.
5. What is the use of "Whips" in Parliament?
6. Write down the names of as many present Cabinet ministers as you can remember, and also mention their offices.
7. Discuss the advantages and the disadvantages of party government.

CHAPTER IX

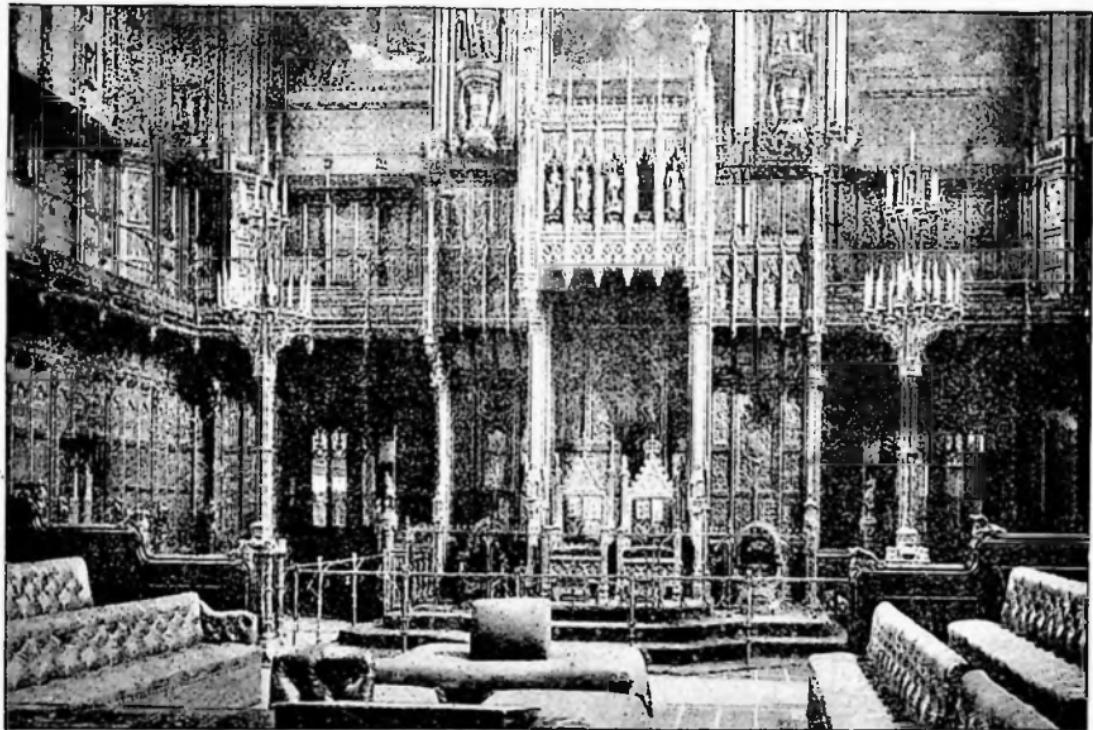
THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

The House of Lords

FOR many years of our national history the House of Lords was, as we have seen, the only House of Parliament, and, for a long time after the House of Commons came into being, the House of Lords continued to be the more powerful. To-day, while the Lords are more powerful in rank, it is really the Commons who hold the greater power, for the simple reason that they have full control over national money matters. It is the so-called "Lower House" that puts on and takes off taxes and directs how the national funds shall be spent.

The nobles of England have had a voice in the government of their country from the earliest Saxon times; but they were not united until Stephen Langton induced them to meet together to force King John to govern properly. Later on, they were called by Edward I to form a part of Parliament.

The House of Lords consists of peers, who hold their seats either by hereditary right, or by creation by the King, or by official position or election. Irish peers elect twenty-eight of their number to sit there for life. The Scottish peers elect sixteen of their number for the same purpose—but not for life—at the beginning of each Parliament. All the English peers have the right to sit in the House of Lords; so also have the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and twenty-four other bishops. There are also six Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, who are elected peers for life for the purpose of assisting the House of Lords as the final court of appeal.



INTERIOR OF HOUSE OF LORDS, SHOWING THE KING'S THRONE AND THE WOOLSACK
IN THE CENTRE

The title of a peer descends to his eldest son. If there are no sons living, the title descends to the eldest daughter. If the late peer had no family, the title descends to the nearest living male relative, brother, nephew, uncle or cousin. Thus a peerage lasts for so long as the original peer has any direct male descendant to succeed him.

There are several ranks in the peerage. The highest is that of Duke, below which there follow in order of decreasing importance the ranks of Marquis, Earl, Viscount, and Baron. Occasionally peers are "promoted," as from Baron to Viscount, thence to Earl, and so on. Although no peer of the United Kingdom can sit in the House of Commons, yet there are members of that house who are called by the courtesy title "Lord," on account of their being younger sons of a peer.

While the number of members of the House of Commons is fixed, that of the upper House is unlimited, and this fact is of the greatest importance to the constitution for, if the Lords decline to pass a new measure which has been accepted by the Commons, the king, on the advice of his ministers, can if necessary create a sufficient number of new peers who would be favourable to the bill, to pass it in the House of Lords. This threat has actually been held over the heads of the Lords on two occasions, in 1832 and in 1911, and they have eventually given way rather than have a large number of new peers created. Irish peers who have not been elected as representative peers may sit as members of the House of Commons for an English constituency.

How the Lords Work

The chairman of the House of Lords is called the Lord Chancellor, and he sits on a large square bag of wool, covered with red cloth. This is called the Woolsack, in

memory of the great wool trade which once brought England most of her wealth.

When the Lord Chancellor enters the House of Lords, he is accompanied by the Pursebearer, who carries in his hands a satchel of the finest silk, richly embroidered with the royal arms in white and gold. This satchel is supposed to contain the Great Seal of the kingdom, which is always in charge of the Lord Chancellor, and without the stamp of which no Royal Order or Proclamation can



THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND (TIME OF EDWARD VII)

be made. The Great Seal is, however, too precious to be placed even in this satchel, except on special occasions. It is usually kept in a strong box at the Lord Chancellor's residence. The Great Seal of England may not leave the kingdom in any circumstances; nor must the Lord Chancellor except in special cases and with full permission.

When a peer speaks, he addresses the House, not the chairman, as is customary when speaking in the House of Commons or on a public platform. Archbishops are addressed as "Your Grace," or "My Lord Archbishop"; bishops as "My Lord Bishop"; dukes as "My Lord

Duke" or "Your Grace"; marquesses as "My Lord Marquess" or "The Most Noble the Marquess of—"; while earls, viscounts, and barons are addressed as "My Lord," or "The Right Honourable Lord—."

Bills sent up from the House of Commons may be altered by the House of Lords, unless they are bills relating to money; and if no one proposes to read a bill a second time within twelve months, it is dropped. The Lords may also reject bills, if they like, but they do this, as a rule, only when the House of Commons has passed any important bill with a very small majority.

Money bills are brought to the House of Lords by the Speaker of the House of Commons, not for debate, but for the king's assent, for this is always given in the House of Lords to every bill. Usually, the Clerk of the House, that is, the Secretary, gives the assent for the king, and, strange to say, this assent is always given in the Norman French language, dating from the time of William the Conqueror, who was a Norman.

When voting takes place on a bill, each peer must record his own vote; no one else can do it for him. The Prince of Wales takes the first place among the peers. Then come the royal dukes, then the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Lord President of the Council, and the Lord Privy Seal. Then follow the dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, bishops, and barons.

When the House is sitting, the bishops and archbishops will be found on the benches on the immediate right of the throne; the lords belonging to the side of the Government sit on the same side of the House, while the Opposition sit on the left of the throne.

The House of Lords is the final Court of Appeal, and any peer charged with treason or felony may be tried by his peers in the House. Freedom of speech and freedom

from arrest are guaranteed to every member of the House of Lords, and they may introduce bills affecting the public interest or their own rights and privileges.

The House of Commons

Now, let us leave the peers, and enter the House of Commons. We have not far to go, for it is in another block of the majestic building known as the "Houses of Parliament." If our visit be made during the evening of the opening of Parliament, we shall hear the debate on the king's speech, and we shall probably see the House of Commons at its best, because most of the members will be in their seats. Members of Parliament do not sit in their places all the time parliamentary business is going on. Sometimes they have to be in committee rooms in the House itself, planning and discussing schemes; or, if the business is not important, they may not be present at all. It is only on most important occasions that a full House is to be seen in the debating chamber. We shall certainly find the procedure more entertaining than in the House of Lords, for most of those who speak in the House of Commons are practised debaters.

The House of Commons is now the most important and the most powerful portion of our Parliament. There is practically nothing which it cannot do, if it chooses. As we enter the Strangers' Gallery, we face the Speaker's chair, above which runs the Press Gallery, where the reporters are busy taking down shorthand notes of the speeches, and transcribing them for insertion in the newspapers for the next morning.

Behind the Press Gallery is the Ladies' Gallery, which is reserved for personal friends of the members and distinguished lady visitors. As a rule it is difficult for other ladies to obtain tickets of admission to this gallery. The accommodation is exceedingly limited, and the tickets

have to be balloted for among the members. The galleries on the left and right are for members and distinguished strangers, and a portion is reserved for the peers, immediately in front of the Strangers' Gallery.

Down below, in front of the Speaker's chair is a table, on each side of which sit the Cabinet Ministers and the principal leaders of the Opposition. The party in power, the Government, sit upon the right-hand side of the Speaker, the Opposition on the left, while independent members sit below the gangway.

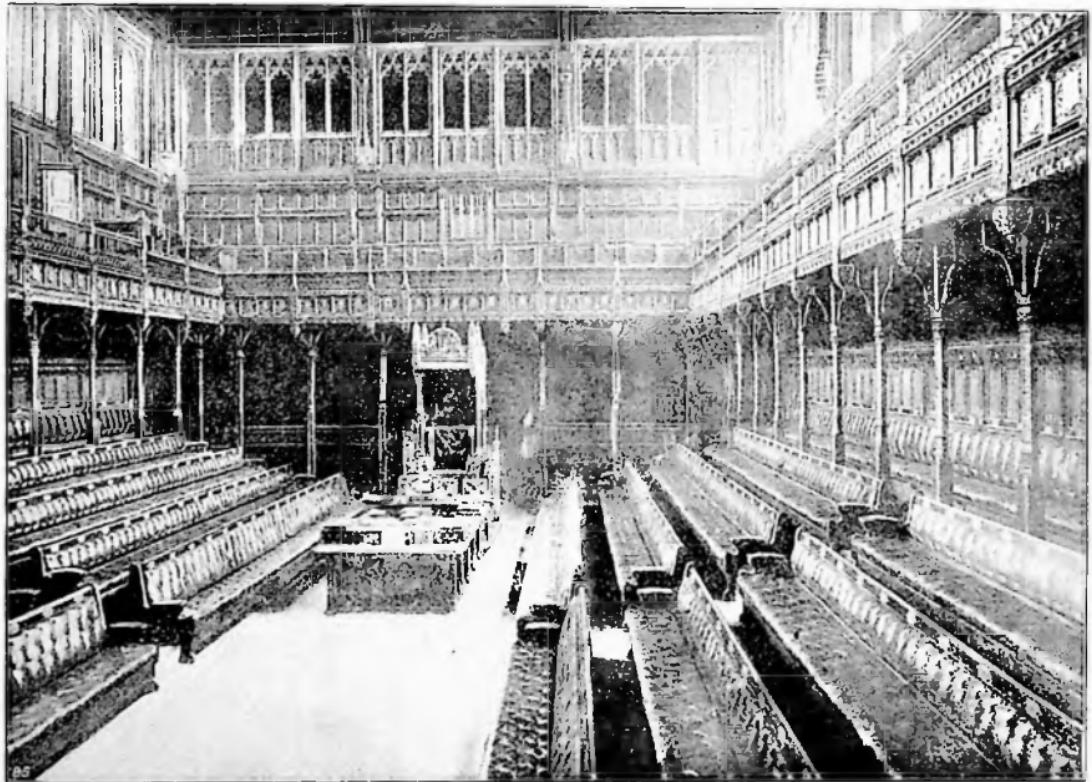
The House of Commons consists of 615 members, each with a salary of £400 a year. Inside the House all members are considered equal. They elect their own chairman, who is called the Speaker. He is treated with great respect wherever he goes, and he ranks as the "First Commoner" of the realm, that is, next to the peers.

In the House, the mace is placed on the table in front of him, as a symbol of authority; and when he rises from his seat, every one has to take off his hat. He acts as the spokesman of the House, and conveys its messages and its money bills to the Lords; and when he retires from his position, he is made a peer, and given a handsome pension.

Who are those persons in wigs, sitting under the Speaker? They are the Clerk of the House and his two assistants. The Clerk of the House has to read the orders of the day and any petitions. He also has charge of the accounts, and is responsible for the preparation of the journals of the House.

Close by, in an elaborate uniform, is the Serjeant-at-Arms, who has to take charge of unruly members, and conduct them outside the House. Fortunately, his services are seldom required, for the House of Commons is one of the best behaved assemblies in the world.

Some parliaments on the Continent are frequently



INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

disturbed by members wanting to fight one another, or challenging each other to duels, but the only disorder which takes place in the English House of Commons is when a member uses some unparliamentary expression, and refuses to withdraw it, or when a member insists upon speaking when the "Speaker" has decided that he shall not speak. In such cases, the Speaker may either call upon a member to withdraw from the debate, the Serjeant-at-Arms conducting him out, or he may "name" the member, in which case the person named is suspended from attendance at the House for a week or longer.

We have just spoken of "unparliamentary expressions." Any expression or remark which is coarse, slang, blasphemous, or which is not in the dictionary, is "unparliamentary." It is also irregular to refer to another member by name. He must be spoken of as "The Honourable Member for—." The "House of Lords" must be referred to as "another place"; and no reference must be made to the sovereign in an ordinary debate.

The House of Commons is very careful of its dignity and honour. No convicted felon, or traitor, or bankrupt may offer himself for membership. If a member becomes bankrupt, and remains so for more than six months, his seat is declared vacant. If a member becomes insane or mentally diseased, the same course is taken. Those persons also who undertake contracts or commissions for the public service are forbidden to become members of Parliament; and if, by any accident, they should allow themselves to be elected, they would be liable to a fine of £500 for every day they sat as members.

How to Become a Member of Parliament

At one time no person could become a member of Parliament unless he had an estate of £300 a year. To-day, any ordinary British citizen, except English and Scottish

peers, clergymen of the English or Roman churches, judges, and those persons previously mentioned as ineligible, may rise to that honour.

Let us suppose that one of you is anxious to become a member of Parliament. One of the first things to be done is to become well known. This may be accomplished through some special knowledge which you possess, some special generosity or act of benevolence on your part, some good work done for the local councils or for the local political association. Unless you can be well supported by the last named association, you will stand little chance of success, and you may not, perhaps, even be nominated, or allowed to put yourself forward as a candidate.

We will suppose, however, that your name is selected by the local political association. A public meeting will then be arranged, in order that you may be introduced to the people. At this meeting, you will have to state your views on all the important subjects of the day, and you will probably have to stand a cross-examination by different people in the hall, who will ask you all sorts of questions, either to show their opposition to you, or else out of curiosity to see what kind of a person you are. The way in which you stand this cross-examination often affects your success, or failure, more than your speech or your "election address."

As everybody in the district cannot attend your meeting, you will have to print an election address, and send a copy to every person who is entitled to vote. This "address" will consist of a summary of your views, a statement of your qualifications, and a stirring appeal to the electors to support your candidature.

You will then be duly proposed and seconded at the appointed time ; and if no one else is also nominated, you will be declared elected unopposed. Most probably, however, another political organization will put forward a candidate,

and perhaps three or more persons will be proposed and seconded. In that case a poll will have to be taken.

Before the date fixed for the poll, each candidate will hold meetings to address the people, and to answer any questions they may wish to put. As a rule, there will be at least one and often several important questions of great public interest, about which it is thought essential that the will of the people should be known. If a candidate is supported by the local organization of a political party he, or she, will be expected to support the views of that party on any given question. There are, however, many smaller matters about which candidates may be " heckled " at meetings, and it requires a well informed mind and a ready tongue to answer these properly and quickly, since they deal with all conceivable aspects of everyday political, business, and social life.

You must be very careful not to " treat " anybody during this time, or you will be declared guilty of bribery or corrupt practices. You will, if you are to have much chance of election, have plenty of support from your personal friends and others who agree with your views and who wish to see you in Parliament. Canvassers will visit all the houses in your area and try to convert lukewarm voters to your cause. A fleet of motor-cars will be busy on your behalf on polling day, placarded with your name, and driving voters to the polling stations.

If you are elected, you will be introduced by two members of Parliament to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and you will take the oath of allegiance—

" I (—) do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George V, his heirs and successors, according to law. So help me God." Then you will sign the " Roll of Parliament," and take your seat on whichever side of the House your party happens to be.

Your principal duty then will be to act conscientiously in the matter of voting for what you believe to be the best interests of your country. This is not an easy matter. To do the right is never easy ; there are so many temptations to do wrong, and so many people anxious to make you do wrong, either because they hope to benefit by it, or because they want to see you as weak as themselves.

A member of Parliament has great temptations. He is expected generally to vote as all of his party vote, and the "Whips" will be displeased if he acts otherwise ; but the "party" does not always vote in the best interests of the country ; and members often have to choose between what they believe to be right and the fear of offending their own party.

Again, the locality which a member represents sometimes wishes him to vote in a particular way, which shall serve the interests of the locality at the expense of the country at large ; he then has to choose between his constituents and his patriotism.

Sometimes, also, railway, shipping, and other commercial companies offer him a directorship with a salary, so that his name may appear upon their prospectuses, and so that he may vote on their behalf on any private bills that are brought before Parliament ; in which case he has to decide between the duty and dignity due to his position, and his own personal interests and vanity. Sometimes, also, enterprising newspapers tempt him to write articles, report debates, or give interviews to reporters, when he ought to be attending to those duties for which he was elected.

Privileges of the House of Commons

The honour of serving in the House of Commons is valued very highly, because of the social privileges and

distinctions which the members enjoy. There are also some special privileges attaching to members of Parliament as a body.

First of all, all members inside the House are equal. The labouring man who becomes a member of Parliament ranks with the son of a peer, or the wealthiest merchant in the realm, and may sit beside him.

The members cannot be arrested when coming to or going from the House, except for treason, felony, or other grave offence.

They cannot be prosecuted for libel on account of anything which they may say in the House.

They have the right as a body to visit the king.

They may summon to the House, and afterwards imprison, anyone who holds them up to contempt; and they can expel any one of their number from the House, if they choose.

There are a number of other but smaller privileges which members enjoy, such as being able to invite their wives and friends to have tea with them on the Terrace. The members are also allowed to use the valuable library and the excellent committee rooms of the House.

At one time members of Parliament enjoyed other privileges. Their servants were free from arrest, and they were allowed to send letters and parcels through the post free of charge, by merely signing their names on the letter or parcel. The latter privilege lasted from 1660 to 1839, and was taken away because it was being so abused. An old post office record reveals the fact that hounds, and even maid-servants, were sent through the post free of charge, because they bore a member's signature.

How Our Laws are Made

If, when you have entered the House as a member, you wish to introduce a new law, you must draw it up in

the form of a draft or bill, and then ask permission to bring it before the notice of the House of Commons. Permission having been obtained, you and the seconder of your bill stand at the Bar of the House. The Speaker calls your name. You reply, "A Bill, Sir." The Speaker asks you to bring it up; and you take it to the Clerk of the House, who reads the title.

The Speaker then puts the question to the House, whether the bill shall be printed and read for the first time. Whenever members agree to a question, they shout "Aye"; when they object to it they cry "No." The first reading of a bill is scarcely ever objected to, as there is no debate or amendment allowed at this first stage; but a date is fixed for the second reading.

When this second reading takes place, you will make your speech, explaining the proposed new law, and your reasons for bringing it forward. The seconder of the bill may then speak in its support. Following him, perhaps, some one will oppose the bill by proposing "that the bill be read this day six months." This is a polite way of saying that the bill is not worth discussing, and of putting it aside for the session, if not for ever.

Perhaps, however, there will be a general desire among members to discuss the bill, in which case they will all try "to catch the Speaker's eye," or, in other words, to be called upon by him to speak. The Speaker usually calls first upon a member on the opposite side of the House to that upon which the mover of the bill sits, and then upon members from alternate sides. All speeches are addressed to the chairman by beginning "Mr. Speaker, Sir."

When the question is put as to whether the bill shall be passed on to the next stage, that is, to be discussed clause by clause in committee, you will probably hear shouts of "Aye" and "No" from both sides of the

House ! Perhaps the Speaker will say, " The Ayes have it." This means that your bill has passed the Second Reading. Perhaps, however, some one will challenge this decision ; and there will be cries of " Divide."

If the Speaker calls for a " division," the members must leave their seats, and pass into the lobbies through different doors, to signify which way they are voting. Two " tellers " on each side count the votes as the members pass through. There is quite a scene when a division takes place, especially if it happens that an important question has to be decided.

There may have been only a few members listening to the debate. Some may have been in the library, some in the dining-room, some interviewing constituents in the lobbies. But directly the division takes place, a bell is rung which is audible throughout the building ; the " Whips " rush all over the place, fetching in the members from every nook and corner, and the members leave whatever work they are engaged upon to vote in the " division."

The numbers having been taken, members return to their business or their seats, and the Speaker reads out the result of the voting. If the majority are in favour of your bill, it will pass into the " committee stage," that is, it will be considered in every detail at an early date, and possibly be altered a great deal.

Then your bill will be read a third time and carried to the House of Lords, which may reject it, or further alter it. Finally, if the Lords agree to it, it will be placed before the king for signature, and then becomes a law of the land.

You must not think that those people whom you have heard criticizing the bill, and making a great show in the debate, are necessarily the best law-makers or representatives. As you get older and learn more of life, you will find that the people who talk the most usually work the least, that people who are always finding fault

are those who rarely make or do anything well themselves. So is it in the Houses of Parliament. Much of the best work there is done in the committee rooms, preparing a bill to become law, and often this part of the work is performed by those who are silent in the debate.



A DIVISION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

All the estimates of expenditure in keeping up the government of this country are discussed by a "Committee of Supply," which is a committee of the whole House. When the House forms itself into a committee like this, the chair is not taken by the Speaker, but by the "Chairman of Committees."

There is yet another feature of the work of the House of Commons of which we have not spoken, although it is most important and one in which we all have to share.

We have mentioned the Estimates, that is, the estimated annual cost of our Parliament, Law Courts, Army, Navy, Civil Service, and so on. All these are gathered together in the 'Budget,' and every year the Chancellor of the Exchequer brings forward this Budget, and proposes to decrease or increase the taxes, by which all our national institutions are maintained.

NOTE

House of Lords. This is sometimes called the 'second chamber' of Parliament, by which is meant that a bill before it becomes law must pass not only through the House of Commons, but also through the House of Lords.

The House of Lords is composed principally of the 'aristocracy,' or representatives of noble houses ; whereas the House of Commons represents 'democracy,' or the people in general, many members of Parliament being themselves working men.

PROBLEMS

1. What is wrong with the following expressions if uttered in the House of Commons ?—

“ Mr. Churchill Smith, you are entirely wrong.”

“ I am certain the king would not approve of this measure.”

“ I think the member who has just spoken is off his rocker.”

“ In front of us on that table is the Great Seal of England. Let us use it to make laws to suit ourselves.”

“ If the Speaker were here I should appeal to him for fair play.”

2. Who are the present leaders of the three great Parties in the House of Commons ? Who is the present Speaker ?

3. What is a by-election, and in what circumstances does it take place ?

4. What should a voter do in the following case ? He is a Liberal by principle, but the only two candidates standing in his constituency are a Conservative and a Socialist.

5. At election times 'canvassers' call to solicit votes for their candidates. Do you agree with this practice, or do you think voters should be left to make up their own minds ? Support your answer with arguments.

6. Candidates for Parliament sometimes contrive to gain votes by methods that cannot exactly be called bribery, but which are near it. Write down a few instances you may think of.

7. The suggestion has often been made that the House of Lords is a useless body and should be done away with. Write your views on this question.

SECTION IV

CHAPTER X

OUR NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The Servants of the State

WE have already noticed that every Cabinet minister is the head of a particular state department, for which he is held responsible ; but, as these ministers are constantly changing, public affairs would suffer, and the departments would do very little good work, if all the routine work had to be carried out by these ministers. A permanent staff of officials is, therefore, appointed to carry on the administration, the method of dealing with the public work being much the same in every office.

All letters and other communications pass first through the hands of the lower-grade officials or clerks, who read them, make an abstract of their contents, and send them on to higher officials, who give directions as to how the letters shall be answered, or what shall be done. If the matter be very important, it goes to the heads of the department. Documents are sent from one official to another in boxes, to which are attached papers of different colours ; white paper means that the matter is ordinary ; green paper indicates more important business ; pink paper demands immediate attention.

At one time all civil servants, as these officials are called, were appointed by the king, and, of course, they used their parliamentary votes according to his wishes. The Commons, therefore, deprived them for a time of their

votes. For many years now, however, nearly all the officials have been appointed by competitive examinations, open to all British subjects between the ages of fourteen and about twenty-six ; and they may vote like ordinary citizens, but not take an active part in politics, or offer themselves for election as members of Parliament or of the county councils.

At one time, also, civil servants were compared with the fountains in Trafalgar Square, which "play from ten till four," but now they work as hard as any class. Indeed, some of the highest and best work is not paid for. England is probably the only country in the world which can secure unpaid officials of this character.

The Home Office

The first object of every good citizen is to secure peace and quiet at home. We have seen that this is assured to us by the police and the law courts. But if we should have the opinion that, on some particular occasion, justice has not been done to us, or that the police have been using their authority unfairly, then we can appeal to the Home Office.

If there exists a secret conspiracy which the ordinary police cannot unravel, the Home Office through its special detectives at Scotland Yard will take up the matter ; and, if necessary, the Home Secretary, who is the Cabinet minister at the head of this department, may open any letters or stop any telegrams which are going through the post offices.

The Home Secretary may also prevent anybody from leaving, and any undesirable person from entering, this country. He may call out special constables, and, if necessary, the reserve forces of the Army and Navy, in order to keep peace. He may give up foreign criminals to justice, unless they are political offenders only, in

which case England will protect them, because England is the home of liberty.

Various institutions over which the State has certain powers of control are under his jurisdiction, such as prisons and gaols, and he has the right to inspect lunatic asylums, and industrial and reformatory schools.

From time to time various important Acts have been passed with a view to safeguarding the interests of workers in factories, workshops, mines and elsewhere. For instance, the law expressly lays down that no children are to work in factories ; that the work of all young persons under 18, and of women, must be limited to $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day ; there must be 250 cubic feet of space for each person ; machinery must be fenced in—the working of all these Acts is under the supervision of the Home Secretary.

The Home Secretary has, indeed, so many grave and delicate affairs to attend to, that he has a large staff of officials to assist him. Some of the duties, however, can be performed by none but himself. For instance, he is obliged to attend the king at all state ceremonies, and he is responsible for all the arrangements. He has to appoint the stipendiary magistrates. If you want to send a letter, or a petition, to the king, you must send it through his hands. If a man is condemned to death, the Home Secretary has the power to change the sentence to imprisonment for life, or for a certain number of years.

We must not leave this department of the Civil Service without a peep at "Scotland Yard," where the Metropolitan Police have their headquarters ; it is under the Home Office. Here are stationed some of the cleverest detectives in the world for the investigation of crime. Some of you, perhaps, have read the adventures of Sherlock Holmes, and of how clever he was in detecting crime. Truth is often stranger than fiction, and Scotland Yard

has many a Sherlock Holmes, who brings evil deeds to light months after they have occurred, and miles away from the places where the crimes were committed. Here, at these headquarters of the police, are kept photographs, finger-prints and other means of identification of known criminals and of questionable characters.

The Scottish Office

In the early portion of this book, as you will remember, we related the story of the Act of Union. Soon after the assembling of the new Parliament, established by that Act, it was deemed advisable that some member of the Government should be in charge of Scottish affairs. Consequently the office of Secretary of State for Scotland was created, and a seat in the Cabinet was provided for the holder.

In the troublesome times after the 'Forty-five, this office was allowed to fall into disuse. Scotland was permitted by the Act of Union to retain her own judicial system. The great law officers of the Crown are the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor-General. These two officials and the Lord Justice Clerk became the advisers of the Government with regard to Scottish affairs.

In later times, the Lord Advocate and the Home Secretary between them managed the mass of parliamentary business relating to Scotland. It was inevitable that such management could not cope with the increasing needs of Scotland, and our members from time to time in the House of Commons bitterly complained of neglect.

In the end the Government was compelled to listen, and it reconstructed the office of Secretary of State for Scotland with a seat in the Cabinet. The salary was fixed at £2,000 a year, and the office of the department was established in Whitehall.

The head of the Scottish Office is the supervising head

of all administrative bodies in the country with but one or two exceptions. He has no control over the inspection of factories, reformatories and industrial schools.

His chief responsibility is the maintenance of peace and the organization and control of the police. The department sends an inspector to pronounce upon the efficiency of the local constabularies and a grant from imperial funds is made in accordance with the inspector's report. The Secretary for Scotland has a power of veto over the burgh and the county councils' actions, the object of this being to protect individuals against the abuse of local authority. These powers are increased by the fact that he is President of the Scottish Board of Health and Vice-president of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland.

We have noticed before the local methods of dealing with educational problems of control and administration. By Lord Young's Elementary Education Act of 1872, a system of school boards was instituted, but it was found necessary to form a central department with power to supervise the work of these electoral bodies.

For a few years after 1872 a Board of Education was established in Edinburgh. It was merely temporary, and after accomplishing its task of organizing the new educational system it was dissolved in 1878. Thereafter, the Scottish Education Department came into being. This body is in the form of a committee of the Privy Council, and its nominal head is the President of the English Board of Education. The real chairman, however, is the Secretary for Scotland, who is vice-president of the committee.

The Foreign Office

Next to keeping the peace at home, it is most necessary to be at peace abroad, and to do as much business as we

can with foreign countries. The Foreign Office deals with all such matters.

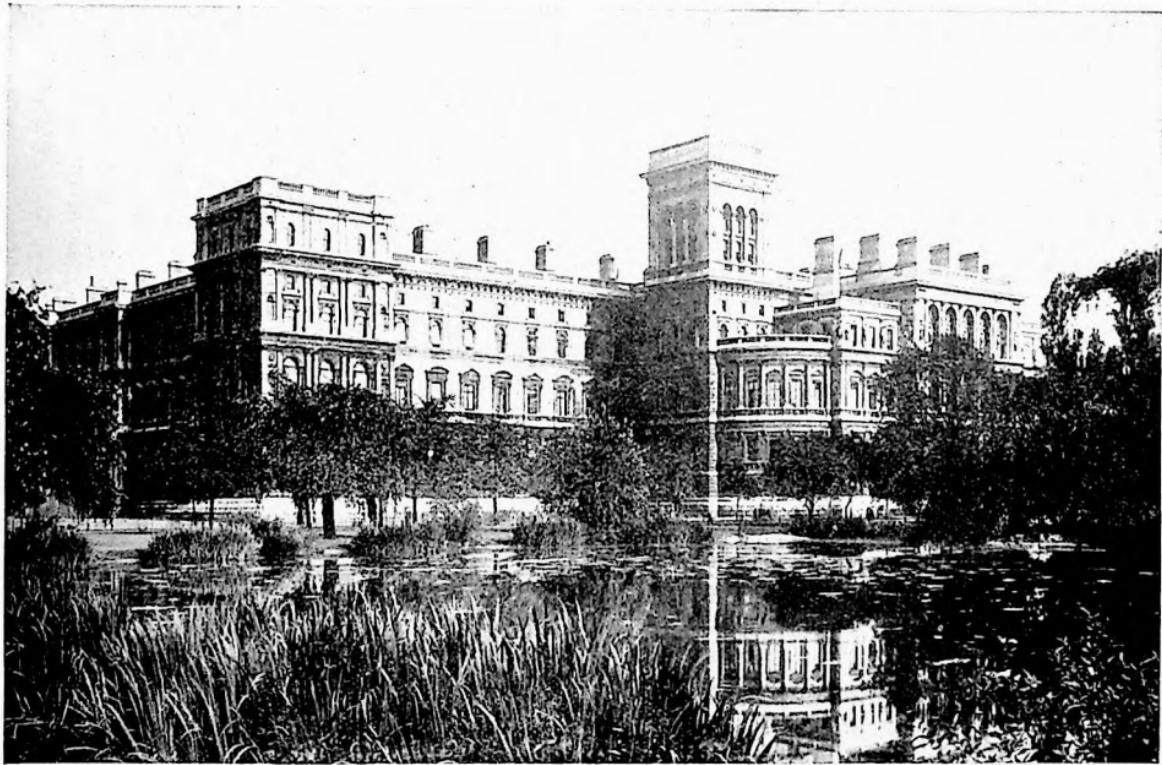
The history of a country is very much influenced by its foreign neighbours, and it is often a difficult and delicate matter to keep peace with foreign countries, which are sometimes on the look-out to take advantage of any weakness we may show. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is obliged, therefore, to be a man of great wisdom and tact, as well as one who has travelled and acquired a good knowledge of men and other countries.

At one time the monarch himself was his own foreign minister; and, even to-day, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs is not so much under the control of Parliament as other Secretaries of State, because of the secrecy and prompt action required from him.

Ambassadors, consuls, and other officers who represent us abroad, are appointed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The selection of these officials also requires great delicacy, because the men who represent our country abroad must be of the highest intelligence, cautious in speech and deed, patient, and very polite; for a slip of the tongue, or a hasty action, might arouse bitterness between two countries, and perhaps cause war.

Britons have always loved to travel. During recent years railway and steamboat travelling have become very cheap, especially in the summer months, and thousands of our people, therefore, spend a part of the year in foreign countries. The safety of these people has to be looked after, and, where necessary, as for travel in Germany, Russia, Turkey, Spain, etc., passports are given to our citizens to show that they are British subjects. This also is the business of the Foreign Office.

If any British subject is robbed or injured abroad, the Foreign Office will insist upon the punishment of the offenders, and compensation for the sufferers. This is



THE FOREIGN AND INDIA OFFICES

The part of the building to the left of the central tower is the Foreign Office. On the right of the tower is the India Office

done through our consuls or ambassadors, who are resident in every country, and to whom the British subject, when abroad, should always apply, if necessary, for protection. In the most important countries such as the United States, France, Italy, Spain, and Japan, we are represented by ambassadors ; in countries like Greece, Denmark, and Portugal by "ministers" ; in smaller states by consuls only.

Whenever war breaks out between us and any other country, our ambassador or minister leaves that country, and the representative of the country with which we are at war similarly leaves our shores. The embassies in which these representatives reside are considered to be the property of that nation whom the ambassador or envoy represents. The different embassies in London, for instance, are regarded as being outside British territory. No person born in any one of them can claim to be a British citizen ; no magistrate can grant a search warrant for those premises ; no resident in them can be tried in a court of law. Similarly, our embassies or consulates abroad are considered British territory, and enjoy the same privileges.

Whenever an ambassador or a consul arrives at the port of the country to which he is sent as representative, he is saluted by a discharge of guns from the forts and batteries at that port, or if he visits, embarks or disembarks from one of His Majesty's ships within the same precincts, he is entitled to a similar salute according to his rank.

All consuls, however, do not enjoy diplomatic power, that is to say, they do not represent our political interests in the country in which they reside. Some are employed merely to look after the ordinary interests of our citizens, who may happen to be in that country, to arbitrate in their disputes, to record births, deaths, accidents or

shipwrecks, and to collect commercial information, which they are expected to send to the Foreign Office, in the interests of British trade.

The Colonial Office

A nation which is fond of travel, and which loves independence, finds its own country too small for it. Many people accordingly leave their old homes, and find new ones in lands which are either uninhabited or only partly peopled by savages, who do not know what to do with waste and forest land, and have not the machinery for mining or manufacturing.

Those who make these new homes do not as a rule forget the old country. Usually they plant their country's flag on the new land, and form institutions like those they were accustomed to in their old homes. Such settlements are called dominions or colonies, and if the government of the old country be wise, it will allow the British people overseas to govern themselves in most things, and only act as judge or referee in very important matters.

A country like ours, which has many such countries enjoying various forms of government, will constantly have to deal with such matters. This is the work of the Colonial Office. In order that they shall have the best attention and advice, each clerk at this office has to deal with the business of some particular dominion or colony only, so that he may make a thorough study of its people and its special needs and circumstances.

Parliament may make laws which every dominion or colony must obey; but the latter cannot pass any bill in their own parliaments which is opposed to a British Act of Parliament. Colonial bills which alter the constitution of a colony must be reserved for the assent of the king, who may veto them on the advice of the Colonial

Secretary. This official has, therefore, a very delicate task and a very responsible position.

Those colonies which do not possess assemblies or parliaments are obliged to have all their money matters superintended by this office. A special department of the Colonial Office is responsible for the arrangements for the Imperial Conference, which is held every four years. At such conferences the Colonial Secretary represents the Crown colonies.

The Imperial Conference

The Imperial Conference originated from the Colonial Conferences, which were held irregularly. The first of the colonial conferences met in London during the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887; the second took place at Ottawa when Lord Ripon was Colonial Secretary. The third and fourth were held at London, one to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign, and the other in honour of the coronation of King Edward VII; both of these were presided over by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who then held office as Colonial Secretary.

The conference arranged by the Colonial Office in 1907 was the most important meeting of its kind, and may be said to have initiated a new development in the history of the British Empire. The arrival of the colonial premiers—or “dominion” premiers, as they are now called—attracted the utmost interest and enthusiasm.

The conference was presided over by Lord Elgin, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who, in formally opening its proceedings, read a message from the king welcoming the premiers and wishing the conference success. The business of the conference was discussed under three heads: the constitution of the conference itself; the question of imperial defence; and the question

of linking the Empire together commercially. With regard to the first, it was decided that the conference should be called "Imperial," and should thenceforth meet every four years. The Prime Minister who holds office at the time of the conference is the president, and a permanent secretarial staff was established to obtain information, conduct correspondence, and attend to the resolutions of the conference. If any questions of great importance should arise within the prescribed period of four years, smaller or sectional conferences are to be held.

Each dominion provides for the defence of its own immediate area. With regard to imperial defence, it was decided to develop, for the service of the Empire, a general staff selected from the forces of the Empire as a whole. The duties of this staff are to study military science in all its branches, and collect and distribute military information and intelligence, besides undertaking the preparation of schemes of defence on a common principle, and acting as an advisory committee upon the training, education, and war organization of our imperial forces.

With regard to linking together commercially the different parts of the Empire, there was some division of opinion, but ultimately it was proposed to connect Britain with Canada, and, through Canada, with Australia and New Zealand, by the best steamer accommodation possible, so that the journey from Britain to Canada should not take more than four days, the railway trip across Canada not more than another four days, and an ocean service from Vancouver onwards be ensured with a speed of not less than twenty knots.

Another means towards the development of imperial commerce arranged for was the appointment of commercial attachés, or consuls, in these dominions to assist British trade, while an attempt was to be made to cheapen and improve the cable communication with our own country.

The Imperial Conference of 1907, therefore, was a great historical event. Another followed in 1911. In the war years of 1917 and 1918 similar gatherings took place under the title of the Imperial War Conference; and in 1923 the conference met for the first time after the Great War.

The India Office

Besides possessing numerous colonies, our country administers the affairs of lands belonging to other people. The most important of these is India, which is governed by a Viceroy and other officials at Calcutta, and an India Council and Secretary of State in London. The reason for the existence of a special India Council in London is that, if anyone feels that he is suffering from injustice through the Viceroy's Government in India, he may appeal to this council.

The work of the India Office and its Council is to attend to all such business, and any other matters which may affect the welfare of India. The council is composed of fifteen eminent men appointed by the Secretary of State for India. Nine of them must have served or resided in India for ten years, so that they may be thoroughly acquainted with the country and its people. Every order sent to India must be communicated to this council, which is obliged to meet at least once a week.

At one time practically all the important Government posts in India were held by British officials, but during recent years many high positions have been filled by natives. There are universities in India that give an excellent training in all departments of education, and it is only reasonable that Indians should be given opportunities for self-government.

The Ministry of Labour

During recent years a serious attempt has been made to cope with unemployment and various other labour

problems in connection with trade and industry. In 1916 a ministry was specially created to deal with these matters—the Ministry of Labour.

Perhaps you may have seen numbers of people waiting outside employment exchanges. Employers in need of certain kinds of workers state their requirements to the nearest employment exchange, and suitable unemployed are put in touch with them. There is thus a saving of both time and expense for employer and employed.

In connection with these exchanges there are juvenile employment committees, which advise parents and others concerned as to the most suitable work for children who are leaving school. Such advice is very helpful, and without it many boys and girls would foolishly rush into various kinds of employment for which they are quite unsuited.

One of the chief evils in our social and industrial system has been that of "sweated labour." By this is meant that workers in certain trades and industries receive such poor payment for their services that they are unable to obtain anything like proper food, clothing, and house accommodation. During recent years, however, the work of trade unions in connection with the big industries has made the comfort of the worker fairly secure, while in many smaller industries, where trade unions either do not exist or are not strong, trade boards under the Ministry of Labour intervene in order to secure a proper living wage for the employees. Officials of the Ministry of Labour can enter workshops and inspect wages sheets, and insist on certain wages being paid by masters to their workers.

The Ministry of Labour is also responsible for the carrying out of the various Unemployed Insurance Acts. The object of these is to enable people to win through when unable to find employment. With certain exceptions

everyone who contributes to the National Health Insurance also pays so much a week to the unemployment fund. The state also pays a small amount towards this. When a person so insured is discharged from his employment he receives a certain weekly sum during the time he is unable to find work.

The Ministry of Transport

When you take the train to go to school, or to business, or on a holiday, you trust that the railway is safe, that all the bridges over which the train has to travel are strong enough to bear its weight, and that the engines and brakes attached to the train are in good condition. Similarly, if you choose to ride on a public tramcar, motor-bus, or river steamer, you take it for granted that every reasonable precaution for the safety of yourself and the other passengers has been taken, and that you will be charged a reasonable fare.

In such cases you trust to the railway and other companies concerned ; but none of them could be trusted so well if the government did not exercise some supervision over them, and make inquiries into every accident that happened, so that if anyone be to blame for it, he may be punished. This is one of the duties of the Ministry of Transport.

The business of this Ministry, as its name would indicate, is to improve the means of, and the facilities for, locomotion and transport. It controls all railways, light-railways, tramways, canals, roads, bridges, ferries, harbours, docks and piers in the United Kingdom. If it should appear that a company's fares are too high, this ministry will look into the matter and may, if it is thought necessary, order a reduction of the charges.

In addition to the foregoing, this department has also control of electricity.

The Board of Trade

The duties of the Board of Trade are to supervise and encourage the trade and industry of the country and to see that the Acts of Parliament relating to trade are carried out. There are two main divisions of this Board ; the *Department of Commerce and Industry* and the *Department of Public Service Administration*.

The former is concerned chiefly with the development of trade. It looks after the commercial interests of this country in regard to conventions, treaties, and trade with other countries ; studies and advises on the development of industries, paying special attention to the influence which foreign manufactures have upon home productions ; looks after weights and measures, patents, designs, and trade marks. From time to time it publishes the results of its researches, which enable the outside public to learn something of the present commercial and industrial state of the country, and of possible outlets for trade in foreign countries.

The Department of Public Service Administration supervises the mercantile marine and holds examinations for the "tickets" of masters, mates and engineers, without which they cannot be employed as such on board a ship. This department is also responsible for lighthouses, foreshores, tidal waters and navigation, wreck and salvage, and pilotage. It supervises ships and appliances, and keeps the logs of ships and official shipping records.

Before the government interfered in this way, some shipowners used to insure their worthless and worn-out ships, and then send them on voyages knowing that they would be sunk. The crew would lose their lives in such a disaster, but the shipowners did not trouble about that ; they knew that they could claim and get the insurance money, and that was all they wanted. Now they have

to carry out the many regulations insisted on for the safety of life and property ; and if they fail to do so they are liable to be heavily fined or even imprisoned.

This department also deals with legislation affecting joint stock companies, registration of business names, and bankruptcy.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

The Ministry of Health

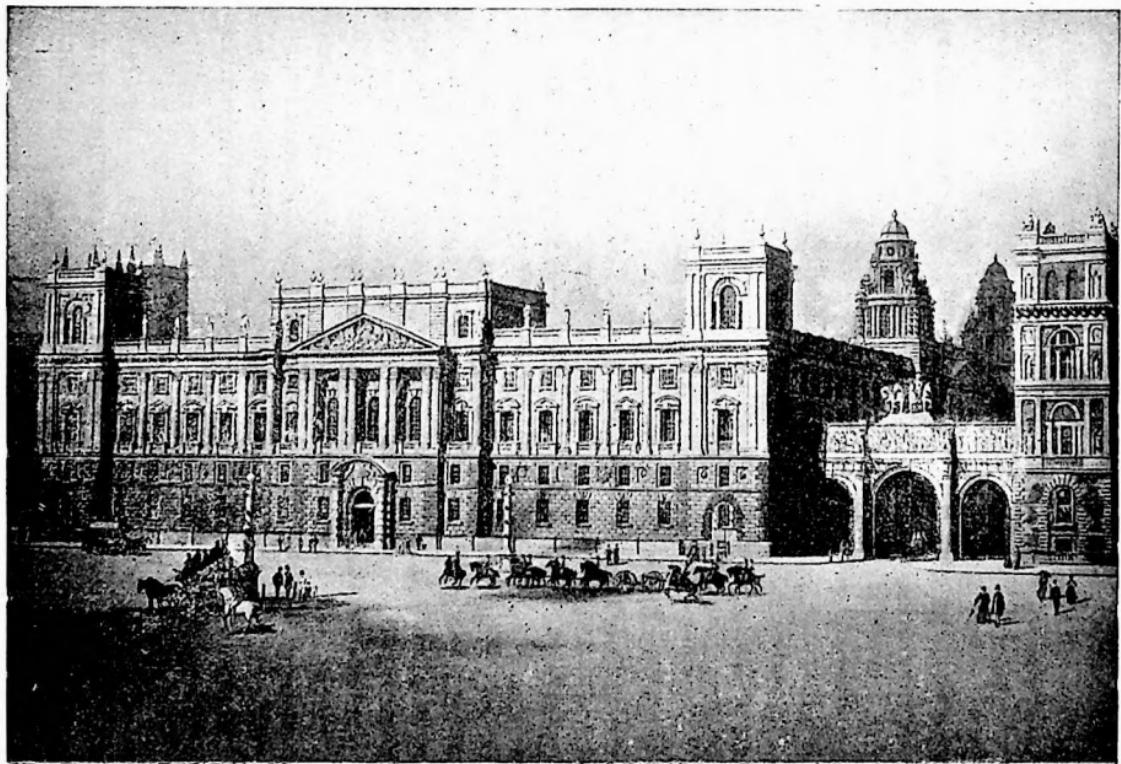
We have seen that every parish, town, and county has its own local government. Supposing that you have a grievance, or that you discover a nuisance to which your local authorities do not pay proper attention, you can appeal to the Ministry of Health, which superintends all these local bodies.

If you know of any wilful waste of the ratepayers' money by the local council or board of guardians, you can advise the Ministry of Health. The auditors of that department will look out for this item of expenditure when they check the accounts of these bodies, and if they find there has been waste, they will "surcharge" the responsible officials, or, in other words, those who sanctioned it will have to pay.

For nearly fifty years all these duties were carried out by the Local Government Board, but in 1919 they were taken over by the Ministry of Health in addition to several others that had been in the hands of various smaller bodies.

As its name indicates, the business of the Ministry of Health is generally to look after the physical well-being of all British citizens. Its interests are very wide, being concerned with national insurance, education, welfare of children, and many other important national interests.

The National Insurance Acts of 1911 to 1920, which



From a photo of the Architect's Drawing

By official permission

BOARD OF TRADE OFFICES

are administered by the Ministry of Health through an advisory committee, aim at the protection of the health of both the individual and the community.

National Insurance

Especially do they aim at enabling people to safeguard the home during times of sickness. All employed persons over 16 who are earning less than £250 a year, and all persons employed at manual labour, no matter how much they may earn, are required to contribute a small sum of money every week towards a sick fund. Employers are also obliged to make a weekly contribution, not for their own benefit, but for the benefit of each worker employed. The sum contributed by an employer is five-pence, by men employees fivepence, and by women four-pence. Contributions are made by affixing stamps to a card, which may be entered at the post office or at an approved society. It is better to be a member of a society than to be a post office contributor, because the post office contributor can draw benefit only whilst the money that has been paid to his credit is able to provide his sick benefit. No one has been sharing his risk of sickness. On the other hand, the member of a society is supported in sickness by the contributions of himself and all the other members of his society, and if he be permanently disabled he will continue to draw the disablement benefit throughout his life. Work-people over 70 who are old age pensioners neither contribute to nor receive benefits from this scheme.

The Old Age Pensions Acts

It is one of the tragedies of life that old age finds many perfectly respectable people neither able to work for a living, nor with enough savings to live on. Clearly it is the duty of everyone to assist these unfortunate brothers

and sisters. For long such assistance as was given to them came from charitable individuals or bodies of people, but it was neither sufficient in amount nor sufficiently regular to be depended on wholly. In 1908 the Old Age Pensions Act was passed, and in 1911 and 1918 it was revised and amended. It provides for the payment of a weekly sum to every person over 70 years of age whose income is less than £50 a year, and who has lived in Great Britain for twelve out of the previous twenty years. The Pensions Act is administered by the Ministry of Health, but the pensions are paid through the post office.

The Public Works Loan Board

This was created in 1817 for the purpose of advancing money to municipal authorities for public works, such as the making of a new tramway system, a reservoir to provide a water supply, or any other enterprise that will benefit the district. It lends also to "public utility societies" and to individual landowners for permanent improvements to estates. Loans are repaid over periods varying from twenty to eighty years.

The General Register Office

This office is responsible for the registration of births, deaths, and marriages in England and Wales. Each Poor Law Union is divided into districts, each with a registrar appointed by the Board of Guardians. Over these registrars there is a superintendent registrar for the whole union. Among his duties is the one of verifying all entries of births, deaths, and marriages, and of forwarding them every quarter to the Registrar-General.

The Ministry of Pensions

This ministry deals with all matters concerning pensions and grants to officers and men of the army and navy, and

to their widows, children, and dependants, arising out of the War (1914-1918).

NOTES

Stipendiary Magistrate. (Latin *stipis*, a small coin, and *pendo*, to weigh out.) A magistrate who is paid a salary and who is appointed by the Home Secretary, in distinction from a justice of the peace who is not paid and who is appointed by the Lord Chancellor on the nomination of the Lord-Lieutenant. Stipendiary magistrates must have been barristers for seven years or more.

Scotland Yard. In Whitehall, London. The name is believed to have originated from a palace on or near the present site, in which Scottish kings and their ambassadors occasionally lodged. New Scotland Yard, which is now the police headquarters, is on the Thames Embankment near by.

PROBLEMS

What British state departments or officials are concerned with the following? In each case write down from your imagination some action that might be taken—

- (a) The murder of a British subject in Spain.
- (b) A serious railway accident in Great Britain.
- (c) A violent epidemic.
- (d) Proposal to build an important new railway in Australia.
- (e) A public petition for the reprieve of a murderer.
- (f) A stranded Englishman in Mexico.
- (g) News of an intended bomb outrage at the House of Commons.
- (h) A petition from Scotland for Home Rule.
- (i) A collision between two British ships at sea.

CHAPTER XI

OUR NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS—*continued*

The Board of Education

WE have noticed that elementary education—as well as higher education—is largely under the control of the county councils, and that it is paid for out of the rates; but the state also makes large grants each year not only to those schools, but to polytechnics, colleges, technical institutes, and other centres of learning. The distribution of these grants in such a way that each educational establishment gets what it deserves is a part of the business of the Board of Education. The work of this board is precisely similar to that of the Scottish Education Department.

The main work of the board is carried on through the elementary and secondary school departments, and the department of technology, science and art. Technical education has been specially watched and provided for by this department. There is a separate department for education in Wales, the principal officials of which are Welsh.

The Board of Education consists of the chief Secretaries of State and a few other members, with a President and a Parliamentary Secretary appointed by the Prime Minister. The board is assisted by a consultative committee of eminent persons from the universities, and other educational centres.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries

The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries is one of our recent government offices, dating back only to 1919, when it replaced the Board which was created in 1889. It is entrusted with the duties of destroying pests hurtful to

agricultural produce ; muzzling or destroying dogs if found without an owner, or if considered a public danger ; and preventing contagious diseases among animals. Swine fever is very common in agricultural districts, and a local policeman who merely suspects its existence may telegraph at once to the board, so that inspection may be made, and the disease stamped out.

The Ministry has also an educational department, which investigates the best methods of farming and dairy production. One of the problems of modern citizenship is how to keep country people in agricultural pursuits, instead of letting them drift to the towns and swell the ranks of the unemployed ; this department is trying to solve the problem. The Ministry is also invested with several other powers with regard to the land, such as the provision of small holdings. During the Great War the importance of having an adequate food supply was brought home very forcibly to the people of this country, and the Ministry of Agriculture issued many useful pamphlets containing advice on how to "crop" land to best advantage.

The Fisheries Department carries out the laws which regulate the fishing industries. There are seasons when many kinds of fish are not fit to eat. These laws prevent the sale of such fish ; they even regulate the size of crabs sold for food. The Ministry can prohibit or restrict dredging for oysters, and prevent the pollution of rivers.

The Treasury and the Inland Revenue

The Treasury is the state department which prepares the estimates of public expenditure each year ; and whenever certain sums of money are raised, it has to control the spending of such sums by the different departments of the state. It also has to prepare the Budget under the direction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who

introduces it each year in the House of Commons. This decides what taxes shall be raised or taken off.

The Inland Revenue department collects the taxes, customs, and other sources of revenue for the state. We have already spoken about the work of the Excise and Customs officers in collecting the taxes and duties on certain articles coming in from abroad, or manufactured at home. Both the Excise and the Customs are branches of this department. Death duties, a tax of a percentage on a dead person's property, are collected by the Inland Revenue, which also issues licences for the sale of special articles and manufactures, and stamps at various prices from twopence to several pounds sterling that have to be placed on certain letters or documents in order to make them of legal value.

All these sources of revenue pass through this department, and are paid into the Consolidated Fund in charge of the Exchequer at the Bank of England. Nothing may be paid from this fund without the consent of Parliament.

The Bank and the Mint

We have been talking a great deal about money and revenue, but we have not yet said anything about the Mint, where most of the money we use is coined; and the Bank, in which the revenue collected by the state is deposited. If an enemy of ours managed to sail up the Thames at any time, and invade London, these two buildings would be among the first objects of their attack.

The Bank of England is called by a nickname, "The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street." It is a massive place, and looks more like a prison than a business house. One privilege it possesses above all other banks in the metropolis; it may print and issue bank notes. Have

you ever held up a bank note to the light? If so, you will have noticed a number of beautiful and peculiar marks, which cannot be seen when the note is on a desk. By these marks, which are called 'water marks,' and by the particular formation of the writing on the note, an official of the Bank of England can at once detect a false note. The machines which print the notes record every one that they turn out, so that none can be stolen without discovery.

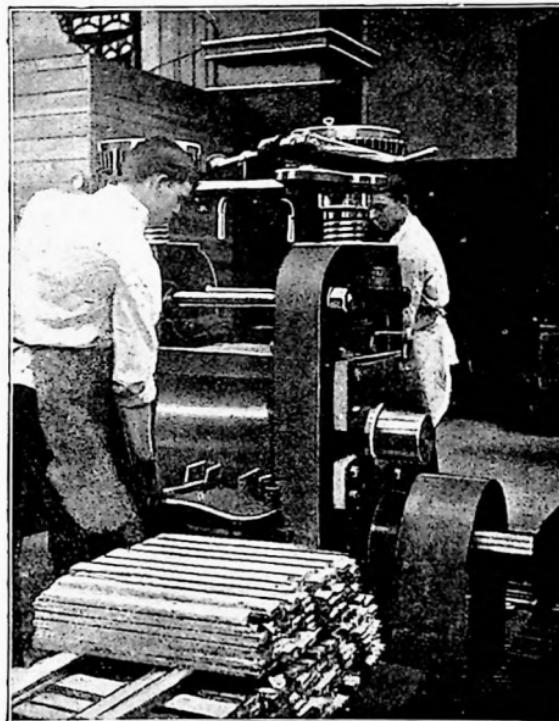
It is of no use to take bad money to the Bank of England, for the testing machines used there at once throw out any bad coins that are placed in them. Coins and bullion which arrive at the bank are stored in solid brick cellars to the amount of about fifty million pounds. This is called "the Reserve." The remainder is circulated in the ordinary way. Perhaps you will ask—what is bullion? Bullion is gold and silver in bars or ingots before it is transformed into coins. The Bank buys gold in this state and makes a profit of 1½d. per ounce for coining it.

The coining of all money takes place at the Mint, and any citizen may obtain a free order from the Deputy Governor of the Mint, at Tower Hill, to see the different processes which the gold and silver pass through before being turned out as coins of the realm. Anyone also may take gold bars to the Mint and have them converted into coin, but silver coins must be obtained through the Bank of England.

The Mint turns out about 150,000,000 coins yearly and uses about 1,800 dies yearly for stamping the coins. The pressure required for stamping a five shilling piece is thirty tons, but only twenty tons is required for stamping a penny. All the coins are carefully weighed before they are circulated; and every man through whose hands any coins passed, while on duty at the Mint, used to be searched before he left, in order to prevent theft or fraud.

To place the employees beyond temptation, the doors of

every room are now kept locked, and everyone is watched as he passes in or out. Every night the rooms are carefully swept and the sweepings boiled up, and as the gold



SILVER BARS BEING ROLLED TO THE REQUIRED THICKNESS AT THE MINT

is weighed before it goes to any room and again before it comes out, any deficiency has to be made good from the men's wages.

Upon the engraver to the Mint falls the responsible task of making a new Great Seal. A fresh Great Seal is made

upon the accession of every sovereign to the throne. The new sovereign calls the Privy Council together to agree upon the design, and when the seal is made, he hammers the old one so as to leave a mark, and gives it as a present to the Lord Chancellor. The seal is about as large and as thick as a muffin, and consists of two heavy silver discs, hinged together to form a kind of mould, into which molten wax is poured and allowed to harden. Its cost varies from £400 to £500, and impressions from it are much valued by historians and antiquaries, because it always shows the dress of the reigning sovereign. If you go to the Grenville Library in the British Museum you can see well-preserved seals of the past in green, red, chocolate, and yellow wax. All of them have on one side the sovereign enthroned as the ruler of the realm, and on the other side the sovereign on horseback as "Head of the Forces" ready for war (*see p. 125*).

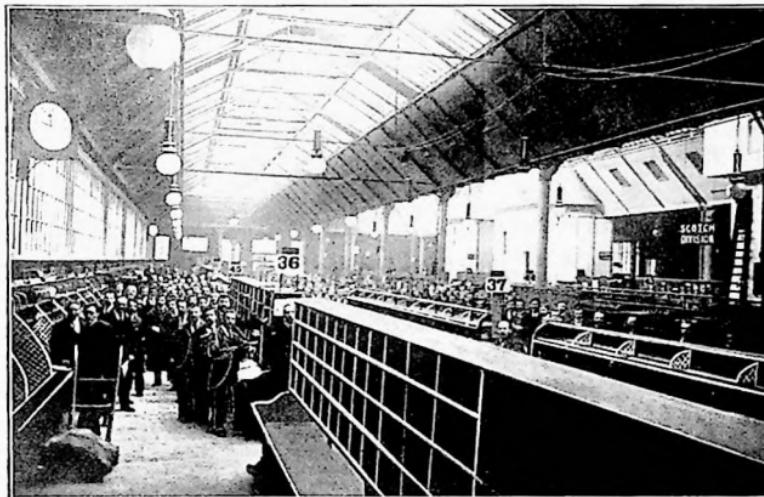
The Post Office

Who does not know the postman and telegraph boy and their knocks? In the early morning before most people have begun work, and late in the evening after every one has returned, in the rain or in snow, through mud or fog, the postmen and the telegraph boys deliver their letters and telegrams. They are the servants of the post office, the only department of the state which carries on a business for profit.

No one may deliver letters or telegrams, or carry on any business of a post office; no one may even sell stamps without a licence, because such business is a government monopoly. All governments claim control of the postal and telegraph services, because of the secret and confidential messages which pass through them. In times of peace and security the public can trust private messages to a state department with more confidence than they

could to a private person or company; and in times of war and insecurity it is only right that the state should have the sole control and the means of intercepting treasonable letters or dispatches.

At one time you could not send a letter anywhere for less than sixpence. The cost from London to Edinburgh



THE SORTING DEPARTMENT OF A POST OFFICE

was 1s. 4½d. As these charges were too much for poor people, they used to send blank sheets of paper secured in unstamped envelopes, so that the charges would be collected at the places of delivery. On the envelopes signs or marks were often written, so that the receivers of the letters had only to look at the envelopes to know that their friends had arrived safely or to read some other message. They could then hand the letter back to the postman, saying that they could not pay the charge. Other people used to get members of Parliament to sign

their letters, which were then carried free of charge. This led to many abuses.

The idea of a penny post originated with Mr. Rowland Hill, who was afterwards knighted. He did not belong to the post office at the time he suggested the idea, and when he was given a place in the General Post Office, the officials there tried to thwart him in every possible way. But Sir Rowland Hill was a man of strong character, and he succeeded in his scheme. The result was that for one penny anyone could send a letter weighing not more than one ounce to any place in the United Kingdom. During the Great War certain changes were made in letter rates. The penny rate was increased to twopence, while rates for parcels also went up. During 1922, however, the ordinary letter rate became a penny-halfpenny, and many business houses continue to agitate for a still further reduction, namely, to the old penny post.

The penny post proved, not only a public boon, but a profitable enterprise for the Government. In 1838, before the days of penny postage, about seventy-six million letters passed through the post, but the revenue was only two million pounds. The number of letters, post cards, and book-packets is now more than seven thousand millions every year, and the revenue something over twenty millions of pounds.

Before the Great War a telegram consisting of twelve words cost sixpence, now it costs a shilling. The number of telegrams sent every year is about ninety millions.

The post office sells money orders and postal orders, to enable one to send small sums of money by post without the trouble of enclosing coin ; and it also carries parcels.

The parcels and letters are dispatched almost every hour from the General Post Office, near St. Paul's Cathedral. Certain trains on every railway line in the kingdom are called "mail" trains, because a travelling post office is

attached to them, and the letters are sorted as the train rushes through the country, bags of letters being made up and thrown out of the window at the small stations through which the express passes without stopping.

A few years ago the telephones were taken over by this department. For twopence you can communicate with friends or with tradesmen who have a private telephone. Another branch of the post office is the Returned Letter Office, where letters and parcels insufficiently addressed find a refuge and are sometimes traced. Cheques for large amounts are often found, as well as small articles of every conceivable kind.

The Post Office Savings Bank

The Post Office Savings Bank is also a privilege of citizenship which is under the charge of the post office. It is intended for people who have small sums of money which they desire to place in safe keeping, and for which at the same time they can draw interest.

When you have a few pence to spare, ask at any post office for a savings bank form, and you will get a sheet of paper with twelve squares printed upon it. You do not pay for the form, but with each penny you buy a stamp, and affix it upon one of the squares. Then you take the form home, and when you have another penny to spare, you buy another stamp, and place it with the others. When you have filled up the form you must take it to the post office, and there will be given to you, in return for the form, a savings bank book in which will be entered to your account the sum of one shilling.

For every pound that you deposit with the post office for a year, you will receive sixpence interest, and yet you can withdraw your pound as quickly as if it were in your money-box. You can also leave the interest in the savings bank, if you like, in which case the savings bank will, at

the end of the next year, give you interest on your last year's interest as well as on the deposits.

There are more than five million depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank, and about one hundred and fifty million pounds are deposited during the year. The number of post offices at which these deposits can be made is about fourteen thousand. At these offices you can also insure your life, or purchase an annuity. You can read all the particulars about these opportunities on the cover of your savings bank book.

Besides the ordinary business mentioned above, the post office sells National Insurance stamps on behalf of the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Labour. It pays also old age pensions, army and navy separation allowances and pensions, and sells National Savings stamps and certificates.

The work of the post office is therefore very important, very laborious, very complex ; and a great army of workers is needed, as well as a vast clerical staff. The workers alone number at least two hundred thousand, and there is employment for about thirty-eight thousand women.

National Defence

The Great War of 1914 to 1918 is still so close in the background of events that there is little danger of our forgetting the glorious deeds performed by our sailors, soldiers, and airmen, which contributed to the victory of the Allies. Books of British history tell how the foundation of the British navy was laid by the English king, Alfred the Great, with the primary object of overcoming the Danes. Ever growing in strength, it achieved notable successes in turn, and in different centuries, over Spain, France, and Germany. We are proud also of the past achievements of our army, which, although a small one in peace time, has been often admitted by other countries

to be the best-trained in the world. Our air force, in comparison with the other two services, is but a baby ; yet when its chance came a few years ago it acquitted itself with " flying colours."

These three great services are the backbone of our national defence. As this generation knows to its cost, their peace-time establishment is not enough in a colossal war such as Europe has lately experienced, when the Government was compelled to resort to conscription and demand the fighting help of every fit man who could be spared. Bankers, clerks, tinkers, and titled men either joined or had to join the ranks of the navy, army, or air force in these perilous years, and right good fighting men they made. We must not forget that the Army Territorial Force is a peace-time military organization, carrying on a certain amount of regular training, and available at once in case of a serious war crisis.

There are many people who think that the time has come for civilized nations to leave war alone, and to reduce their big armies, navies, and air forces. Every one agrees with them in loving peace and being anxious to secure it, but every one does not agree that the best way to obtain peace is to weaken our defences. At present there is little trust between the world's nations, and so they all have to spend vast sums of money in order to maintain adequate protection.

In this country there is no compulsion on any man to join any of our national forces. In almost all other countries on the Continent very large armies are raised and maintained by compulsory service or conscription. By this method every able-bodied young man of about twenty years of age may be called on to serve for a certain number of years, after which he passes into the army, navy, or air reserve, and is liable to be called on for service in the event of his country's going to war.

The British fighting forces—the navy, the army, and the air force—are kept up by voluntary enlistment. The men enter one of the services for a certain period, after which they may be discharged with a pension. In the same way as abroad the ex-fighting man may be called on in case of war. The chief training of service-men is, of course, directed towards their efficiency as sailors, soldiers, and airmen. An interesting and important feature recently introduced is the continuation of their general education as well as a specialized training for some kind of civilian work, so that, on leaving the service, they will be better able to earn a living.

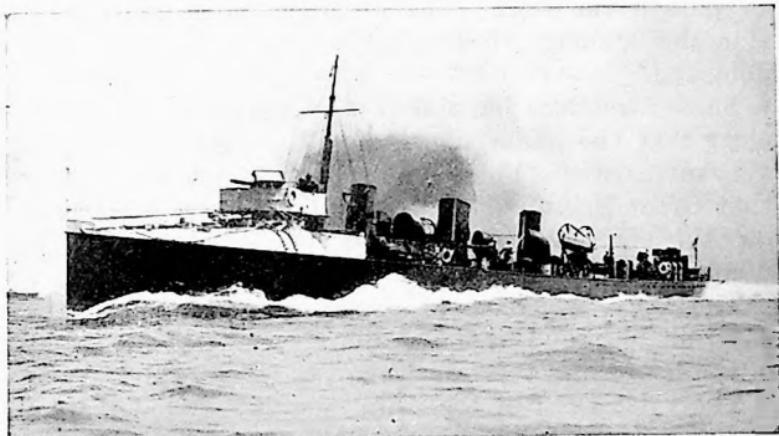
No account of our national defences would be complete without reference to such excellent organizations as the Army Territorial Force, which did such admirable service for the country from 1914 onwards ; the Boy Scout movement, which provided great help during these trying years ; and the Girl Guides. We cannot, however, devote more space at present than to emphasize the very great value of these movements, not only to the country but also to the individuals who belong to them.

Until the conquest of the air Great Britain had no need to fear invasion, and so her standing army was mostly distributed in India and elsewhere overseas, to defend any part of the British Empire against attack. For her safety at home she relied on the ever watchful navy. Now, however, as we know from trying experience, hostile aircraft can make quick and destructive raids on our sea-girt island, and in future we shall have to maintain a highly efficient air force ready to repel enemy attacks.

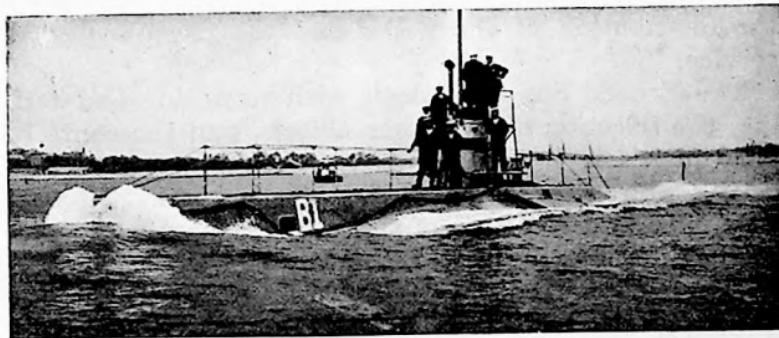
Although our peace-time army is, for a first class power, one of the smallest in the world, it is a matter for great pride that, between the years 1914 and 1918, over 6,000,000 men of the United Kingdom were enrolled for War Service. In addition, over 3,000,000 men were



A TORPEDO BOAT



A TORPEDO-BOAT DESTROYER



A SUBMARINE

enrolled from the British Dominions and Colonies and India. Not all of these were fighting men, but they were all "doing their bit" in one way or another.

The Navy

The importance of sea-power was well shown in the Great War. The British navy was supreme. The German fleet, quartered in the Kiel Canal, dared not show itself except on a very few occasions, and meanwhile our merchant ships and troopships continued to plough the seas. The German submarines did considerable damage, but eventually our objects were all achieved.

Since a modern battleship costs about £3,000,000, it is clear that the maintenance of a first-class navy must be very expensive; but, come what may, it is imperative that Great Britain should retain supremacy here, because on this largely depends the safety of our overseas dominions.

The navy, which is the oldest of the three services, is controlled by the Board of Admiralty. The chief members of the board and their duties are as follows—

The First Lord of the Admiralty is a Cabinet minister and a politician; it is his duty to appoint flag officers and commanders of ships.

The First Sea Lord deals with strategical questions, the distribution of the fleets, and the discipline of the service.

The Second Sea Lord deals with recruiting and training, the selection of the lower officers, and the control of coastguards.

The Third Sea Lord and Controller looks after the repairs and construction of ships and ordnance.

The Junior Sea Lord controls medical, victualling, and transport arrangements.

The Civil Lord, who is also a politician, deals with the civil establishments and with Greenwich Hospital.

The Additional Civil Lord superintends contracts and dockyards, while the Parliamentary and Financial Secretary deals with matters of finance. There is also a Permanent Secretary, who deals with the personnel of the Admiralty and routine correspondence, and so far as possible he endeavours to arrange for a co-ordinated cohesion policy throughout the service.

The Army

The military forces of the kingdom are controlled by the War Office. The Bill of Rights, 1689, provided that the raising or keeping of a standing army within the kingdom in times of peace, except with the consent of Parliament, is illegal. Consequently, every year the Secretary of State for War has to ask Parliament for money to pay the officers and men of our standing army, and to carry on its administration. Parliament is obliged, therefore, to meet every year, if only to vote this money for the army; otherwise the army might have to be disbanded, and neither officers nor men would have any legal claim for their salaries.

The following is a list of the chief officials of the War Office and their duties—

The Secretary of State for War, who is responsible to the Crown and Parliament for the general policy of the War Office, and who submits recommendations to the sovereign.

The Chief of the Imperial General Staff, who is responsible for operations of war, intelligence, training and education, official publications and mapping.

The Adjutant-General, who is responsible for the provision of the personnel, for the organization and mobilization of units, discipline and military law, medical services, and army schools.

The Quartermaster-General, who is responsible for transport, remounts, railways, supplies and food and barrack administration.

The Master General of Ordnance, who controls the supply of armaments, ordnance factories, fortifications, and the custody of lands and ranges.

There are also a Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, who attends to barrack construction and the army chaplain department ; a Financial Secretary, who deals with estimates and contracts ; and a Permanent Under-Secretary, who is responsible for the internal administration of the office, the secretarial work of the Army Council, and correspondence with other departments.

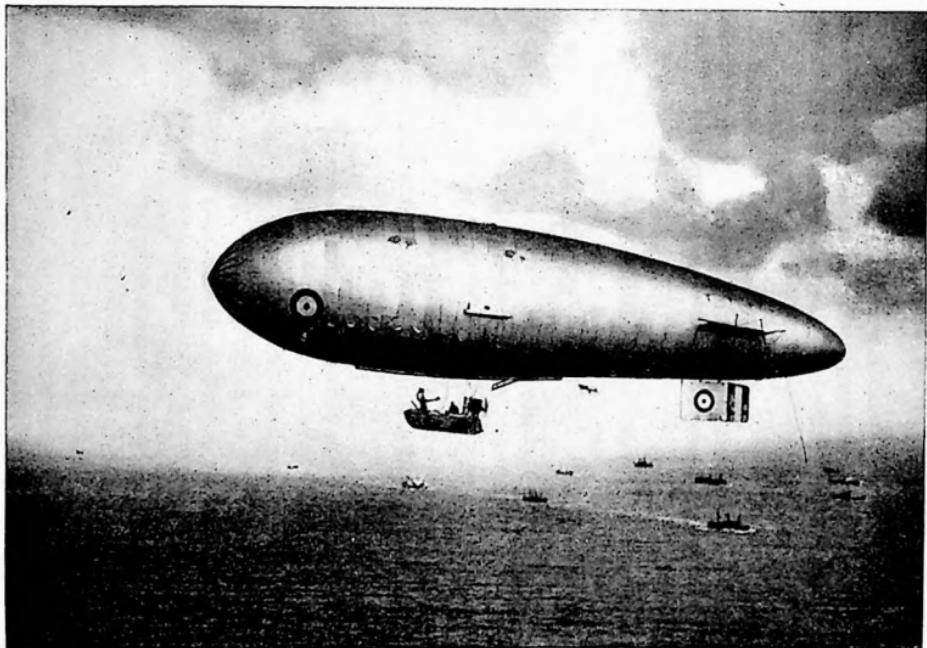
The Royal Air Force

To provide for the growing importance of aircraft in warfare the Air Council was established in December, 1917. Later, in 1918, the Air Ministry was established to take over the control of the Royal Air Force, which had been formed by the amalgamation of the two separate forces, the Royal Naval Air Service and the Royal Flying Corps.

The President of the Air Council is one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. The other members of the Council are the Under-Secretary of State for Air and Vice-President of the Air Council ; the Chief of the Air Staff ; the Air Member for Personnel ; the Air Member for Supply and Research ; and the Secretary.

The choice of "Adastral House" as the name of the R.A.F. headquarters in London is a happy one, as it is taken from the Latin words *ad astra*, meaning "towards the stars."

The figures relating to national defence on the expenditure side of our national account on page 183 show that



By permission of

The Air Ministry

NON-RIGID AIRSHIP OF S.S. ZERO CLASS USED FOR SUBMARINE HUNTING
AND CONVOY ESCORTING. AN OBSERVER IS SEEN
SIGNALLING TO THE CONVOY

for the year 1922-1923 we had to pay £111,000,000 for our protection, which amounts to about £2 10s. for each person in the British Isles.

PROBLEMS

1. Write down some of the ways in which the money known as Income Tax is spent when collected, and say in each case who has the spending of it.

2. Which Government department receives the proceeds of : (a) the stamps put on letters ; (b) the stamps put on receipts ?

3. Imagine that someone has sent you a post office order for 5s. Give details of how it was purchased and how you would get 5s. for it. Does the post office make anything on the transaction ? If so, how ?

4. If you wanted to telephone and had not access to a private instrument, how would you do it ? Give every detail you can up to the time you have finished giving your message.

5. About how many soldiers had Great Britain on active service during the Great War of 1914-18 ?

Write down a list of as many branches of the Army as you can, and say what is their special purpose in each case.

6. About how far can modern guns fire ?

7. Describe what action you imagine would be immediately carried out by our Navy, Army, and Air Force if this country were attacked by a strong European power without warning.

8. Write a short essay on " The Command of the Sea."

9. Write down the meanings of the following letters—

V.C.	R.A.F.
D.S.O.	W.R.A.F.
M.C.	G.H.Q.
D.C.M.	R.N.R.
M.M.	Q.M.S.

10. Name some of the places at which very heavy fighting took place during the late war, and describe any incidents you have read of.

CHAPTER XII

HOW AND WHY WE PAY TAXES

THE reasons for levying local rates and the methods of their collection have already been discussed. Besides these, there is another set of dues that all citizens are obliged to pay—the *national* taxes. It is most remarkable that there are no expenses that provoke more growls and curses from the average head of a household than rates and taxes. Why should this be so? No reasonable person has cause for complaint when he gets value for his money. In exchange for the money he pays in rates and taxes he *does* get value: he may not see *how* he gets full value, and this is undoubtedly the reason why payment of these debts is often made so grudgingly.

Taxes are necessary to carry on the work of the state. Just as a family spends so much money every year, varying according to circumstances, on food, rent, clothes, doctors, amusements, and the hundred-and-one items that crop up from time to time, so also the state has to arrange for a large number of payments to its servants—Government ministers, members of Parliament, judges, sailors, soldiers, airmen, policemen, postmen, excisemen, and many others. There are also heavy national expenses every year in the construction and maintenance of naval and military and air force armaments. Further, a considerable sum of money is required to help to pay off our National Debt, or the amount of money that we have borrowed from other nations and have not repaid. Why do all these people and these departments exist? *For the good of the people.* Then why should not the people pay for it? As a matter of fact they are *compelled* to pay,

so why not pay cheerfully and gratefully? The money thus collected is called the public revenue.

Two methods are employed to get the money necessary: direct taxation, and indirect taxation. The most important direct tax is the income tax, which is payable by every one with an annual income over £150. Of every pound that is *earned* over this amount, the earner must hand over 2s. 3d. to the Government; and, if a person receives interest on invested capital, he has to pay 4s. 6d. of every pound got in this way, which is called *unearned increment*. Again, the person earning £5,000 a year does not pay ten times the income tax paid by one earning £500 a year: he pays very much more. On the other hand, people who have children and other dependants to support are allowed so much off their income tax.

Indirect taxation consists in putting a tax on everyday commodities such as tea, other articles of food, and on luxuries such as tobacco and alcoholic drinks.

Thus we see that, as in the case of the local rates, the object is to make all help the state financially according to their means. Let us find out how the annual revenue is fixed, collected, and spent.

The official responsible for the public revenue is the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Every year in April, this minister introduces to the House of Commons what is known as *The Budget*, which is a sort of national profit and loss statement. It contains an account of the revenue received and of how it was spent during the previous year, but its most important part is that which deals with the requirements of the coming year, showing how much is likely to be wanted and how it is proposed to raise it.

In the preparation of the Budget the Chancellor is in close touch with his fellow Cabinet ministers who have charge of the big "spending" departments, and from

them he gets estimates of what they consider necessary. They may not get all they want, however. The navy, army, and education departments are among the biggest spenders, and each wishes to attain to the summit of efficiency. The Chancellor has then to consider whether their claims are reasonable, and very often he cuts down



AN EXCISE OFFICER GAUGING BARRELS OF SPIRITS

To determine the amount of duty to be paid

the demands of several departments in order to save the taxpayer from too heavy a burden.

Just before the Great European War the National Debt was £650,000,000, but now, owing to the enormous cost of that war, the amount has reached the staggering figure of £7,500,000,000. It is most unlikely that anyone living to-day will see our National Debt cleared off, although it is the Chancellor's concern to pay not only the interest, but to repay as much as possible of the debt every year.

Knowing what the national expenditure will be for the

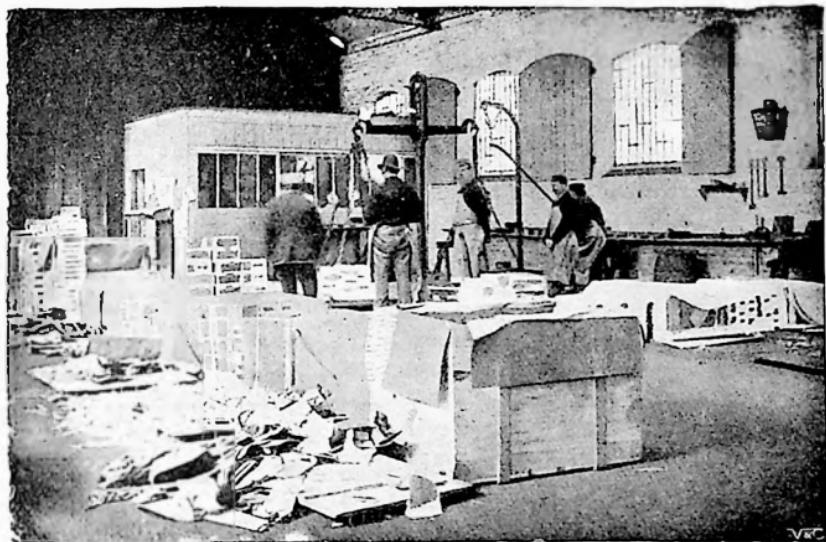
coming year, the Chancellor considers how this is to be found. If the expenditure is to be greater than for the preceding year, he will probably have to impose new taxes. He finds the greater part of the money from excise and customs duties, income tax, and death duties. The last named are the dues payable from the property estates of deceased people before it can pass to the heirs, and are enormously high for large estates, so that if a person leaves £1,000,000 the State takes about £85,000 of it.

The customs duties are imposed principally on wines, spirits, tea, coffee, tobacco, and cocoa; and the excise duties on the manufacture of beer and spirits. It will be noticed that in the list of taxed commodities there are some which are used by all or nearly all the people, and which can therefore be called necessities. Tobacco and spirits are luxuries, and it is considered fair that if people can go in for such luxuries part of the price they pay for them should go to the national revenue. Thus, when a man pays 1s. for an ounce of tobacco, about 7d. of this goes to the Exchequer, and the manufacturer and the tobacconist have to be content with 5d. between them.

It is interesting to note the way in which such a tax as the tea tax is collected. Tea comes chiefly from India and China, and directly it arrives in this country a tax of so much a pound is charged upon it, and is collected by the customs officers, who have authority to inspect a ship coming into any home harbour in order to ascertain if the proper kind and amount of dutiable goods have been declared. The tea merchant pays this tax, and then he charges so much more for the tea, so that the person who buys it really pays for the tea and the tax as well. The procedure is the same for tobacco.

However carefully the Chancellor forecasts the revenue from taxes, something will probably upset his calculations.

For instance, our home and foreign trade may be bad, so that incomes will be small, the people in consequence may drink less alcohol and smoke less tobacco. In these circumstances the revenue from these sources would be considerably less than was expected. On the other hand,



WEIGHING TOBACCO, TO ASSESS THE AMOUNT OF DUTY

a great boom in trade will have the effect of raising the revenue. It is remarkable, however, how nearly the Chancellor makes the revenue tally with the expenditure.

A very important point to remember is that the Chancellor cannot impose taxes at will. If he could, affairs might be even worse than in mediaeval times. His budget is really a set of *proposals* for discussion by the House of Commons. The estimates for the different departments are considered item by item by the members, some objecting that too much is being spent, and others

that too little is being spent. In this way Parliament has a real control over the spending of the national revenue; and, further, it has power of criticizing and of rectifying the manner in which any state department is being conducted. When considering the Budget and taxation, the House of Commons is said to be in *Committee of Ways and Means*, and when discussing how the money shall be expended, it is in *Committee of Supply*.

Study carefully the figures given below, showing national revenue and expenditure for the period of the Great War and following years. It is seen that every year the expenditure far exceeded the revenue; and as one cannot spend what one does not have, this money must have been borrowed.

FINANCE

The Revenue and Expenditure of Great Britain and Ireland for the eleven years ended 31st March, 1924, are stated as follows—

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1913-14	£198,243,000	£197,493,000
1914-15	226,694,080	1,132,654,000
1915-16	338,767,000	1,559,706,000
1916-17	573,428,000	2,198,113,000
1917-18	707,235,000	2,696,221,000
1918-19	889,021,000	2,579,301,000
1919-20	1,330,571,000	1,665,773,000
1920-21	1,425,985,000	1,195,428,000
1921-22	1,124,880,000	1,079,187,000
1922-23	914,012,452	812,496,804
1923-24	837,169,000	788,840,000
1924-25*	794,050,000	790,026,000

* Budget Estimate

On p. 183 are details of estimated revenue and estimated expenditure for the year 1922-23, showing the amounts of money raised by the various methods of taxation, and the manner in which the money was expended—

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE 1923-24

	REVENUE		EXPENDITURE	
	Actual	Estimated ¹	Actual	Estimated*
Customs	£119,958,000	£116,900,000	National Debt Services	£347,308,748
Excise	147,970,000	143,850,000	Road Fund	£350,000,000
Motor Vehicles Duties	14,691,000	13,250,000	Payments to Local Taxation	12,650,000
Estate Duties	57,800,000	52,000,000	Accounts	14,090,044
Stamps	21,670,000	20,000,000	Payments to Northern Ireland Exchequer	13,662,631
Land Tax and House Duty	2,780,000	3,000,000	Other Consolidated Fund	10,348,000
Income and Super Tax	320,971,000	319,000,000	Services	3,966,865
Excess Profits Duty	—	12,000,000	Supply Services—	3,000,000
Corporation Profits Tax	23,340,000	20,000,000	Navy, Army, and Air	2,802,795
<i>Receipts from Taxes</i>	<u>£718,060,000</u>	<u>£700,000,000</u>	Civil Services	<u>2,972,000</u>
Postal Service	32,840,000	33,200,000	Revenue Departments and	105,800,000
Telegraph Service	5,570,000	5,250,000	Post Office	239,366,000
Telephone Service	14,390,000	14,150,000		122,011,000
Crown Lands	920,000	900,000		264,813,000
Interest on Sundry Loans	12,606,900	12,500,000		
Miscellaneous—				
Ordinary	15,980,950	12,500,000		
Special	36,801,434	40,000,000		
<i>Non-Tax Revenue</i>	<u>£119,109,284</u>	<u>£118,500,000</u>	<i>Total Expenditure</i>	<u>£788,840,211</u>
<i>Total Revenue</i>	<u>£837,169,284</u>	<u>£818,500,000</u>	<i>Surplus</i>	<u>£148,329,073</u>

* Including £13,143,000 Supplementary Grants.

PROBLEMS

1. Explain the big rise in expenditure during the years 1914-22. In 1919-20 we spent more than we did in 1915-16, one of the war years. How would you explain this? In each of these years the expenditure was vastly greater than the revenue. Who supplied the money for us to spend?
2. There are many taxes besides those on alcohol and tobacco. Give three examples, and in each case explain how the money is collected.
3. Would it be wise to put a tax on bread? Give reasons for your answer.
4. Are there any taxes actually in force that you think unfair? If so, what are they?
5. Of every 1s. a smoker spends on tobacco 7d. goes to the revenue. There is no tax on chewing-gum, so that the gum-chewer pays only for his gum.
Similarly, by far the greater part of the money paid for whisky goes to the revenue, but there is no tax on lemonade. Write a short essay on these cases, in which you express your opinion as to the fairness or unfairness of the taxes.
6. In the tables of revenue and expenditure given above you will see that *postal services* occur in the expenditure: what item or items in the revenue column correspond? Explain, also, how the Government gains money through postal services, and why and how it spends money on these.
7. Try to account for the differences between actual and estimated revenue in regard to Estate Duties, Motor Vehicle Duties, and Customs; and between actual and estimated expenditure on Navy, Army and Air and Civil Services.

SECTION V

CHAPTER XIII

OUR IMPERIAL CITIZENSHIP

THE British Empire is one of the marvels of the world. Who would think that the inhabitants of this little island were the founders of a dominion upon which "the sun never sets," a dominion composed of widely scattered parts, separated by oceans, seas, mountains, and deserts; by differences of religion, customs, traditions, race, and colour; and yet united under one king, one flag, and one empire. This vast domain, more than eleven millions of square miles in extent, has been built up by the pluck, enterprise, and tact of our forefathers, and it has been handed down to us as a heritage of which we are rightly proud.

We not only have free local institutions and our free national institutions, but we have also our free imperial institutions. One day, perhaps, we may have an Imperial Federal Parliament, in which imperial matters will be discussed and arranged, and at which the representatives of every portion of the British Empire may meet together to govern for the common good. That is an ideal for which we may all work; but there are many difficulties to be overcome before it can be realized. To attempt such a task, and to understand and appreciate our imperial citizenship, we should know something about our empire and the great men who have built it up.

Most of you have read stirring stories of how our brave seamen, under Drake, Frobisher, and other "sea-dogs,"

AREA, POPULATION, AND TRADE OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS

Dominions by Continents.	How Acquired.	Date.	Estimated Area (sq. miles).	Estimated Population.	Total Imports (1921-2).	Total Exports (1921-2).
Europe.						
Great Britain and Ireland	Purchase	1827	121,090	47,350,000	£25,000,000	£25,000,000
Isle of Man	Duke of Normandy	1066	230	60,000	—	—
Channel Islands	Treaty Cession	1714	70	22,000	6,000,000	1,700,000
Gibraltar	"	1713	2	22,000	3,000,000	100,000
Asia.	Conquest and Cession.	1757-1897	1,900,000	320,000,000	270,000,000	25,000,000
Indian Empire	Treaty Cession.	1801	25,500	4,500,000	26,000,000	60,000,000
Ceylon	"	1785-1909	1,660	3,360,000	70,000,000	16,000,000
Straits Settlements	"	1874-1888	27,500	12,000,000	4,000,000	5,000,000
Federated Malay States	"	1909	24,810	82,000	82,000,000	89,000,000
Other Malay States	"	1812-1906	3,300	160,000	—	—
Hong Kong	"	1898	31,100	204,000	—	—
Weihaiwei	"	1877	4,000	30,000	2,500,000	3,000,000
North Borneo	Treaty Cession	1888	50,000	650,000	1,500,000	1,000,000
Brunei	Protectorate	1914	3,600	275,000	14,000,000	7,000,000
Sarawak	Annexation	1914	150,000	2,850,000	6,000,000	1,000,000
Cyprus	Conquest & Mandate	1914-1918	9,000	650,000	14,000,000	1,000,000
Mesopotamia	"	1914-1918	9,000	650,000	14,000,000	1,000,000
Palestine	"	1894	227,000	5,100,000	58,000,000	66,000,000
Africa.	Treaty Cession.	1814	35,400	—	—	—
Cape Province	Annexation	1843	10,400	—	—	—
Natal	"	1900	50,400	—	—	—
Transvaal	Conquest.	1914	322,350	120,000	50,000	50,000
Orange Free State	"	1895	10,300	153,000	6,000,000	5,000,000
Basuto and South West Province	"	1889	450,000	1,750,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Bechuanaland	"	1898	210,000	2,030,000	8,000,000	7,000,000
Rhodesia	"	1898	4,000	1,541,000	2,000,000	8,000,000
Gambia	Treaty Cession.	1867	92,000	34,000	11,000,000	3,000,000
Gold Coast	"	1877	65,000	65,000	300,000	350,000
Sierra Leone	"	1891	363,700	17,400,000	7,000,000	5,000,000
Nigeria	Treaty Cession.	1884	65,000	300,000	1,730,000	1,300,000
Somaliland	Cession and Conquest	1888-1918	566,000	12,000,000	4,122,000	3,000,000
Tanganyika	Conquest	1914-1918	365,000	12,000,000	4,122,000	3,000,000
Uganda	Treaty Cession.	1894	223,500	3,072	1,300,000	2,000,000
Zanzibar	Treaty Cession.	1890	1,020	200,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Nyasaland	Conquest	1891	300,000	1,200,000	600,000	500,000
Sudan	"	1898	1,015,000	4,000,000	9,000,000	2,000,000
Mauritius	Treaty Cession	1814	720	384,000	9,000,000	11,000,000
Seychelles	Conquest	1814	150	89,000	100,000	120,000
St. Helena	Occupation	1815	40	150	50,000	15,000
Ascension	"	1890	200,000	3,000,000	600,000	500,000
America.	Conquest and Cession	1759-1763	407,250	2,934,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
Ontario	"	1759-1763	706,850	2,361,000	4,000,000	4,000,000
Quebec	Treaty Cession	1627-1713	21,500	524,000	12,000	12,000
Nova Scotia	Conquest	1763	28,000	388,000	89,000	89,000
New Brunswick	"	1763	2,200	525,000	160,000	160,000
Prince Edward Island	Settlement	1670	355,900	616,000	160,000	159,000,000
British Columbia	"	1813	251,900	598,000	1,600,000	1,600,000
Manitoba	"	1670	255,300	758,000	650,000	650,000
Alberta	"	1670	1,250,000	1,000,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
Saskatchewan	Treaty Cession	1670	40,000	283,000	4,000,000	5,000,000
North-West Territories	Conquest	1653	4,200	863,000	6,000,000	4,000,000
Newfoundland	"	1655	4,400	53,000	1,000,000	400,000
Jamaica	Settlement	1623-1659	750	140,000	1,600,000	1,600,000
Panama	"	1763-1783	510	162,000	700,000	650,000
Leeward Islands	Conquest	1605	170	156,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Windward Islands	"	1787	1,860	363,000	7,000,000	5,000,000
Barbados	"	1803-1814	90,300	288,000	4,000,000	4,000,000
Trinidad and Tobago	"	1798	8,600	40,500	700,000	650,000
British Guiana	Conquest	1798	20	20,000	1,400,000	250,000
British Honduras	"	1771	6,500	3,000	1,000,000	3,500,000
British Honduras	Treaty Cession	1771	1,000	—	—	—
Falkland Islands	"	1788	310,400	2,100,000	1,010,000	130,000,000
South Georgia	Settlement	1822	88,000	1,532,000	45,000,000	45,000,000
Oceania.	"	1822	904,000	495,000	2,500,000	2,500,000
New South Wales	"	1824	67,500	758,000	214,000	180,000
Victoria	"	1826	916,000	332,000	1,700,000	1,700,000
Queensland	"	1828	105,000	1,285,000	500,000	500,000
Tasmania	"	1874	7,500	360,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Western Australia	"	1884	90,540	200,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
New Zealand	Conquest and Natives	1883-1914	—	—	—	—
Fiji	"	—	—	—	—	—
Papua	Annexation	—	—	—	—	—
Pacific Islands	Cession and Conquest	—	—	—	—	—

By permission from *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1925.

as they were called, sailed the Spanish Main, and performed prodigies of valour, by seeking Spanish galleons laden with treasure, and making the English name feared and respected on the high seas. One of these daring sailors was Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who in 1583 made a permanent settlement in Newfoundland, and thus has the credit of beginning our empire by colonization rather than by conquest.

Other colonies were founded on the mainland, but through bad statesmanship and want of tact on the part of the Government at home, these were lost to us in 1783, and became the United States of America. The lesson, however, was not lost upon Britain ; all her colonization has, since that time, been based upon self-government and practical independence, with the result that the British Empire is to-day composed chiefly of a number of independent nations united only by sentiments of loyalty, interest, and pride. These feelings have found expression in the institution of Empire Day.

Empire Day makes us remember that we are imperial citizens, and it ought also to remind us of the loyalty that exists between the various units of the empire. When its safety was threatened in the beginning of the Great European War, our imperial troops came pouring across the seas to fight the battles of the Motherland—from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, from every spot where the British flag is supreme. The imperialism of Great Britain has no connection with despotism such as once existed in Russia and in Germany. It is rather a generous and loving fraternity of peoples, united in purpose by common interests and blood relationship.

The imperialism of Britain is unique in the history of the world, and can be understood properly only when we acquaint ourselves with its chief elements, as illustrated

by the government and institutions of our various dominions, colonies, and possessions.

Ireland

Taking the overseas dominions nearest home, we shall first deal with the two separate governments in Ireland. For several centuries that country's history has been a troubled one, owing partly to the fault of the Irish themselves, and partly to the British Government's unskilful handling of the relationship between the two countries.

Ever since 1649, when Cromwell carried out a military campaign in Ireland with ruthless severity, the Irish people have nursed a grievance against England, and have chafed under British domination. The Irish Celtic temperament, naturally slow to forgive an injury, has been repeatedly ruffled by unsympathetic legislation in the British Houses of Parliament.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, and also for the first twenty years of the present century, this discontent took expression in a strong agitation for Home Rule for Ireland. This wish for autonomy was not, however, unanimous. The Northern Provinces, where a considerable Scottish strain had become established, wished to maintain their complete allegiance to the old country. It was in the other portions of Ireland that the demand for Home Rule became strongest; and this divergence of opinion led to arming and counter-arming by the opposite parties, with every prospect of civil war. It did not quite come to this, but very nearly so.

In 1920 the Government of Ireland Act was passed, giving provision for a legislature, executive, and judicature for Northern Ireland, consisting of six of the counties of the Province of Ulster along with the parliamentary boroughs of Belfast and Derry. The seat of Government is Belfast. Parliament consists of a senate of twenty-six

members, twenty-four senators, and fifty-two members of a House of Commons. Thirteen members are returned by North Irish constituencies to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

The agitation by the rest of the country for independence culminated in the Irish Free State Act, whereby the Irish Free State became a co-equal member of the British Commonwealth. The national language is Irish, English being the official language.

Unlike Northern Ireland the Irish Free State does not send representatives to the Parliament at Westminster. The first Governor-General of Ireland, who replaced the Lord-Lieutenant, was Mr. Tim Healy, appointed in 1923. The Governor-General is the official head of the whole of Ireland.

In the Irish Free State there are two Houses of Parliament, viz., the Chamber of Deputies (*Dail Eireann*), and the Senate (*Seanad Eireann*). The former body is elected by secret ballot and also by direct vote of all citizens over 21 years. The Senate is elected by all citizens of over 30 years.

Even after the passing of this Act, which put Ireland in the same position in regard to Great Britain as Canada, Australia, South Africa, and other British dominions, a considerable section of Southern Ireland was still dissatisfied. This section demanded complete severance from Great Britain in every respect, and sought to upset the new Irish constitution by acts of violence for which many captured rebels were executed. The rebellion, which had been particularly active during 1922, finally died down early in 1923, and thus a new day dawned for Irish peace.

The Australian States

We often speak of Australia as a country, but we get a better idea of its size and importance if we think of it



By courtesy of

The High Commissioner for Australia

MELBOURNE FROM THE AIR, SHOWING VICTORIA GOVERNMENT
OFFICES IN THE FOREGROUND

as a continent, which it really is. This continent contains six states : New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania, which between them embrace an area of three million square miles.

At the end of 1923, the total population was nearly five and three quarter millions, which is less by about two millions than that of Greater London. It seems incredible that an area of about 700 square miles, with its centre at Charing Cross in London, should contain more human beings than the great Australian continent with an area of about 3,000,000 square miles. The reason is, of course, that Australia is a new and practically undeveloped country, having by far the greater part of its population along the eastern and south-eastern coasts. Those who live a hundred years hence, when Australia will probably be a well-populated and highly developed country, will be amused to read that in 1924 it held only five and three-quarter millions of people. While the Australian authorities are anxious to develop the country and to obtain industrious immigrants, they are not prepared to accept *any* kind of person who wishes to go there. For instance, they have a strong objection to coloured races, and it is practically impossible for negroes, Chinese, and Japanese to enter the country on account of the strict immigration laws. The watchword is "A White Australia," and they will have no other.

A word of advice may be given here to all young people who may entertain the idea of going to one of the British dominions overseas. It applies equally to Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and other countries that are still to be developed. These dominions want *workers*, not such as use a pen, but those who use the pick and shovel. You cannot open up a new country with pen and ink. If a young man with a modest capital cares to engage in



HARVESTING IN AUSTRALIA : 560 BAGS A DAY



By courtesy of

The High Commissioner for Australia

WHEAT AT A RAILWAY SIDING IN AUSTRALIA

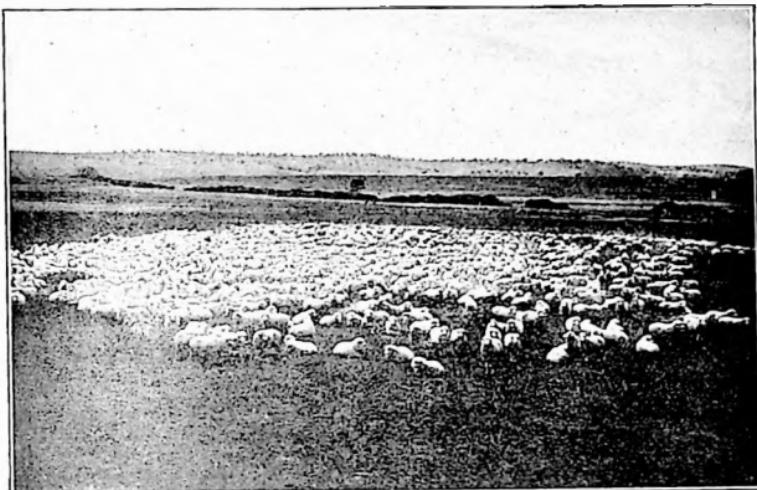
crop-raising, the Australian and other governments will allot so much land to him and will help him liberally otherwise, and as a rule he will do well. It is useless, however, for the well-dressed man to go out there, hoping for a nice clean office job. There is plenty of room in Australia, but not for him.

It is a common idea that Australia is a "rough and ready" country, an idea which, indeed, extends to most of our overseas dominions. For the express purpose of dispelling this notion, photographs are included showing some of the chief public buildings, streets, and other town features; while others show the scenes of several of the chief industries.

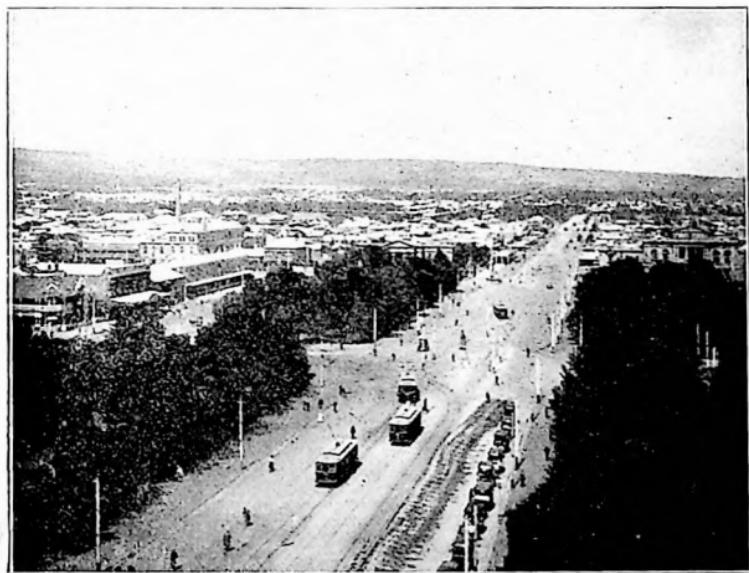
Each of the Australian states is independent of all the others, and has its own Governor, who is appointed by the Crown. The governor constitutes the link between the colony and the mother country. Each state, with the exception of Queensland, possesses a Parliament consisting of two Houses, the Legislative Council or Upper Chamber, and the Legislative Assembly, which corresponds to our House of Commons. The Queensland Legislative Council was abolished several years ago, and there is now the Legislative Assembly only in that state.

The governor's duties are to report to the Colonial Office in London all matters of imperial moment. Any bills which the parliaments of the respective states wish to make law, must receive the king's assent through their governors. An Executive Council, consisting of the Cabinet ministers of the state, really directs the government.

The members of the legislative council of New South Wales are nominated for life by the governor and executive council. In the other states they are elected by voters who possess either property or university education. Members must be over 30 years of age, and must have



A FLOCK OF MERINO EWES, SOUTH AUSTRALIA



By courtesy of

The High Commissioner for Australia
ADELAIDE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA

resided several years in the state. They are usually elected for a term of six years; and in common with members of the executive councils, they are entitled to the prefix "Honourable."

The members of the legislative assemblies are all paid a salary and are elected, as a rule, for three years. No property qualification is necessary to become a member, and women are eligible for election. The members are elected by a democratic ballot, every adult having a vote.

The Commonwealth Parliament

In 1900, all these Australian colonies united to form a Central Federal Government, called the Commonwealth of Australia. Each separate colony, according to its size, sends a number of representatives to the two Houses of this Central Government, which are called the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The members of the Senate, as well as of the House of Representatives, are specially and directly elected by the people of each colony on the principle of one person one vote; they are all paid a salary of £1,000 a year, and receive free passes over all the railways. The Senate is composed of not less than six representatives from each state, and cannot be dissolved except in case of deadlock.

The House of Representatives numbers as nearly as possible twice the number of senators, and sits only for three years. Members must have resided in Australia for three years, and they may not sit in the Parliament of their own state as well as that of the Commonwealth; they are officially styled M.P.

The Governor-General, who acts in the name of the king, calls this Parliament together, and dissolves it. He can also veto any measure which affects other colonies.



By courtesy of

The High Commissioner for Australia

MARTIN PLACE, SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES

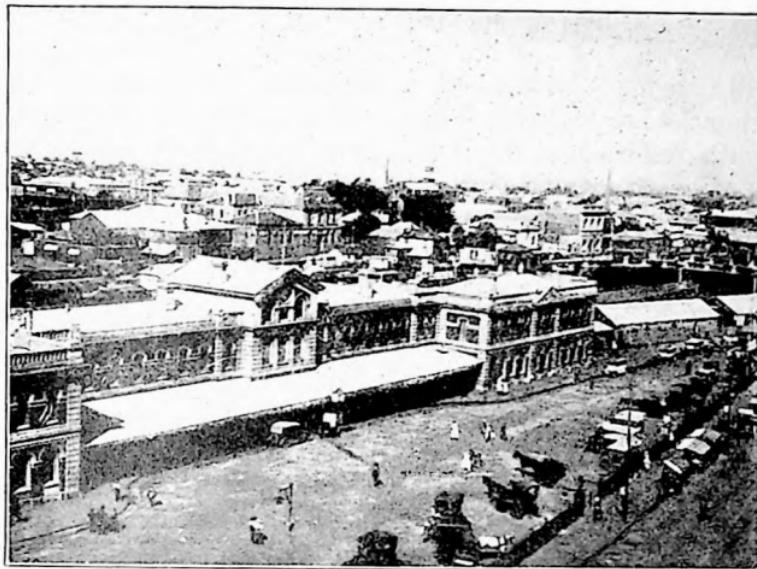
The Commonwealth Parliament controls the posts, telegraphs, telephones, customs, excise, naval and military defence, lighthouses, and all matters which are national in character. It also controls the affairs of several islands off its coasts, the most important of which are Norfolk Island and New Guinea; the British portion of New Guinea was transferred to Australia in 1901.

Under the Australian Defence Scheme, the Commonwealth provides and maintains several ships of war. Some of these served with the Royal Naval forces in the Great War, and to H.M.A.S. *Sydney* fell the honour of destroying the famous German pirate cruiser *The Emden* at Cocos Island in November, 1914. At present, the sea-going forces comprise approximately 400 officers and 3,500 petty officers and men.

Military training is compulsory for all boys and men between the ages of 12 and 26. Boys are trained in cadet corps until 18 years of age, after which they become citizen soldiers. The strength of the peace-time army is about 110,000, and of the war establishment 130,000 of all ranks.

We must not leave this Commonwealth Parliament without a few words about a citizen institution which has become a feature of Australian polities, and by means of which the federation or voluntary union of the Australian states was brought about—the Referendum. If two Houses of Parliament disagree very much upon some important question, or if some great event happens which calls for special legislation, and it is thought to be of national importance, the matter is put before the whole of the people of the country, in order that a special vote may be given upon it, apart from all party considerations or prejudices.

This expedient was not invented or originated by our Australian colonists; it is an ancient institution that



PERTH RAILWAY STATION, WEST AUSTRALIA



By courtesy of

The High Commissioner for Australia

BRISBANE, QUEENSLAND

still exists in Switzerland. But nowhere among our colonists has it become so popular as in Australia. In South Australia it was introduced in 1896 to decide the question of religious education. Since then it has been used several times by different Australian states, and in the future it may play a large part in Australian polities, and possibly also in our own country.

Early in the Great War the question of conscription in Australia became a subject for the Referendum. Although this was rejected, the loyalty of the Australian Commonwealth towards the empire was never in doubt. Australia's contribution of fighting men for service with the Allies was over 416,000, representing about a tenth of her whole population. A truly marvellous effort of loyalty !

The activities of the Commonwealth are in many respects similar to but distinct from those of the individual states. For instance the Commonwealth Bank of Australia undertakes banking business quite independently of the various State Banks, and has power to incorporate other banks and to issue paper money. Again, the Commonwealth Railway, called the Trans-Australian, connecting the Eastern states with Western Australia, has an administration of its own, while each of the states has a separate railway system. Each state is responsible for its own education.

In 1920 an arrangement was made between the Commonwealth and State Governments whereby the former is responsible for the recruiting and transport of immigrants to Australia, while the State Governments advise the Commonwealth as to the numbers and classes of immigrants they are prepared to receive. In this way Australia is able to attract the kind of people she wants, and at the same time to limit the number of new settlers to those for whom there are good prospects of steady employment. The Commonwealth gives £12 towards

the passages of approved settlers for Australia, and is prepared to grant them loans in special cases.

New Zealand

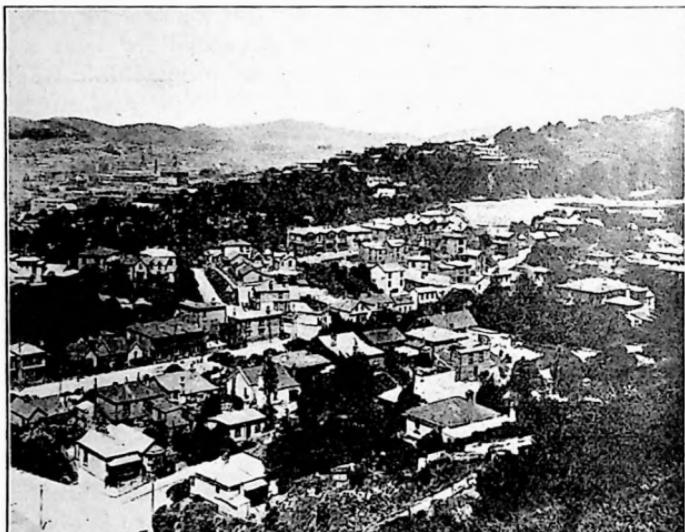
In many respects New Zealand is much more fortunately situated than Australia. The climate is much more dependable, and there are no severe droughts such as those which are so disastrous to the Australian sheep-farmer. Also, while there is ample scope for land and other development, there are no great inhospitable tracts of territory such as Central Australia. New Zealand lies at the back of the world, and is thus further distant from the black and yellow races which would fain make Australia their home. Like the Australians, the New Zealanders place restrictive regulations in the way of coloured people who wish to settle in their country. As a matter of fact, they are not troubled with the colour problem so much as in Australia, because their agricultural industries do not attract such foreigners as the Chinese, whereas the Australian gold mines acted on these yellow people like magnets.

The government of New Zealand is the most democratic in the world. Every man and every woman who has lived for a year in this dominion, and become a British subject, has a vote. If anyone (e.g. a seaman) is obliged to be absent from home at an election time, he may send his vote by letter; every employer is bound to give facilities for his workpeople to vote; and anyone who fails to record his or her vote is removed from the roll of the electorate after the election. A redistribution of seats may be made after every census by a special Board of Commissioners.

An Act of Parliament provides old age pensions for all New Zealanders of good character (Asiatics excepted) over 65 years of age, if they have resided for twenty-five years

in the colony, and do not possess more than £270 in property or £50 a year income. Education is free, secular, and compulsory, and all religions are treated as equal.

The State owns not only the post office, telegraphs, and telephones, but also the railways, a coal mine, and a large



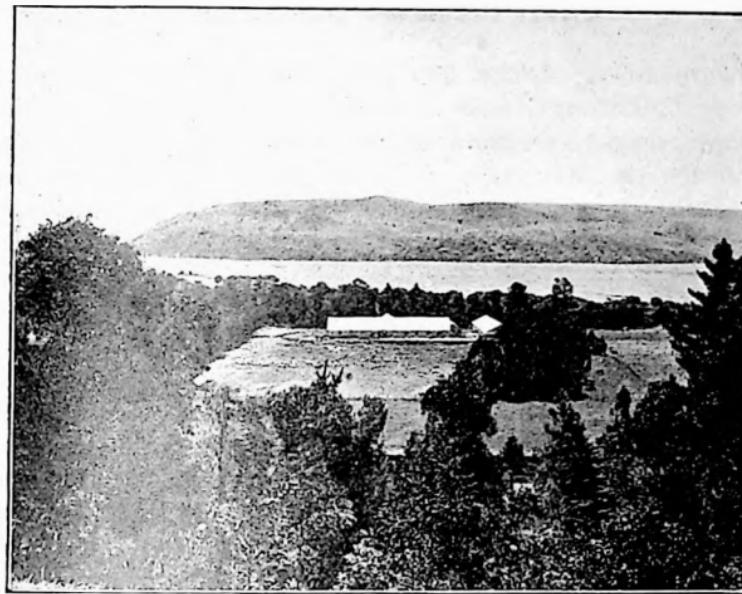
By courtesy of

The High Commissioner for New Zealand

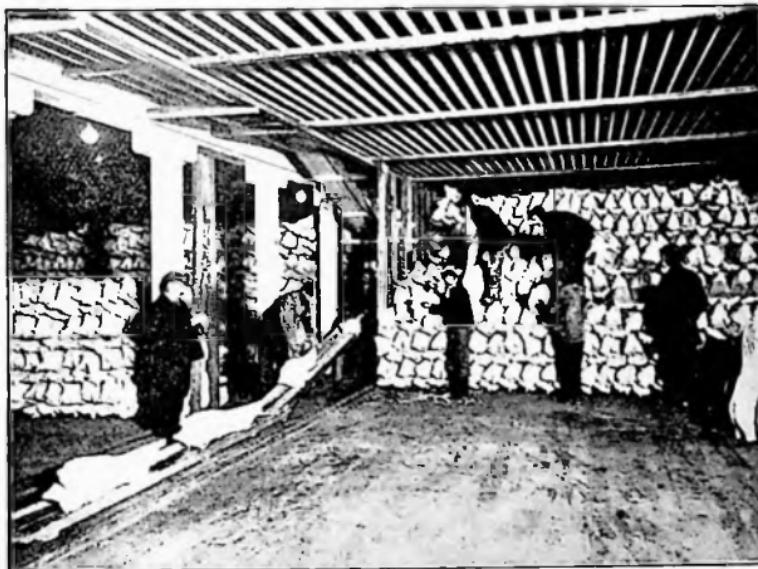
WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND

part of the land. The land is sold outright or is leased for various periods, and the government makes loans to settlers at a small rate of interest. The State also has employment bureaux, and its Public Trust Office acts as attorney, and as executor of any persons' wills.

The New Zealand Parliament consists of two Houses.



SHEEP STATION, WOOL SHED AND YARDS, MARLBORO',
NEW ZEALAND



By courtesy of

The High Commissioner for New Zealand

The members of the House of Representatives, corresponding to our House of Commons, are elected by the people, seventy-six members for the white population, and four for the Maoris, or native people. This House can sit for no longer than three years, and the members are paid £450 a year for their services.

The second House, the Legislative Council, consists of thirty-six whites and two Maoris, all of whom receive a salary of £315 a year, and are nominated by the Governor for seven years.

The Maoris, who are thus represented in both Houses, and are much respected, number only about fifty thousand altogether, as against a white population of about 1,360,000. The Maori members have the right to speak in their own language, and very eloquent they are. An interpreter translates their speeches; this practice, however, has not been followed for some years.

The New Zealanders are remarkably patriotic and imperialistic. Many people in England are inclined to think that democratic people are less patriotic and less careful about national defence. The New Zealanders offer us a valuable lesson in this respect. Over 100,000 men joined the British Expeditionary Force as a separate unit in the Great War, while thousands more were being trained when the Armistice was signed in 1918. The Australian and New Zealand forces were popularly known as the "Anzacs," the word "Anzac" being derived from the initial letters of their official description, "Australia and New Zealand Army Corps."

In 1909 the dominion presented the battle-cruiser *New Zealand* to the Imperial Government. There is a New Zealand Division of the Royal Navy, manned by a New Zealand personnel, which would immediately be at the service of the Imperial Government in case of war.

The Dominion of Canada

If we enter Canada by way of Quebec, we shall be admitted at once into one of the secrets of our Empire's strength and greatness. Quebec is an ancient city in a New World. As we wander up and down the narrow, quaint, and crooked streets, or the public wooden stairways from the Upper to the Lower Town, we shall hear a foreign tongue, and see foreign habits and customs. Tourists or workers from every nation may be found here and there, but one language distinctly predominates. It is not English ; it is French. Yet these French-speaking people are British subjects !

When the English conquered Quebec, they did not inflict indignity upon the vanquished people by imposing upon them another language and another religion. They not only left the French all the liberty which they had previously enjoyed, but gave them more. Thus the people of Quebec still use their own language and religion, manage their own affairs in their own Parliament, and send representatives to the Dominion Parliament which sits at Ottawa, to consider those matters which affect the whole of Canada. Even in this Federal Parliament French is allowed to be spoken, and is recognized as an official language.

Many years after the conquest of Quebec, about twenty-five thousand loyalists from our oldest colonies which had become part of the United States left their old homes and settled in Canada. Thus there grew up two provinces, Upper Canada, peopled by British settlers, and Lower Canada, peopled by the French. In 1840, Lord Durham, who had been Governor-General since 1838, succeeded in inducing both peoples to unite their provinces under one responsible government.

In the meantime, new tracts of land in the far-west were opened up by British settlers, and in 1867, the

Dominion of Canada was constituted of four federated provinces, of which two were the old English and French provinces, which now again became distinct under the names of Ontario and Quebec, the others being Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Sir John Macdonald, who had been untiring in his efforts to bring about the union of the provinces, was the first Prime Minister of the dominion.

Since that date all the territory on the mainland, except a portion of Labrador, has become part of the dominion, which now includes nine provinces, the four already mentioned and Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. The population in 1921 was nearly 8,800,000.

In the eastern and central portions of the dominion the climate presents greater extremes of heat and cold than are found in corresponding latitudes in Europe, but in the southern and south-western portions the climate is milder. The duration of the winter is from four to five months. One result of the climate is that negroes are not attracted to the country, so that Canada has no colour problem as the Americans have. Further, while the climate is generally healthy it is by no means mild, and is not suitable for people of weak constitution. The typical Canadian is a very hardy person, capable of great endurance in conditions of severe hardship.

The story of Canadian gallantry in the Great War need not be retold here. It is sufficient to note that of their population of about eight millions, six hundred thousand men were equipped as soldiers, and four hundred thousand were in the fighting line in France and Flanders. The Canadian troops are especially associated with Vimy Ridge, near the town of Arras in France, where they took part in exceptionally severe fighting. In recognition of their bravery the French Government presented to the



HERMIT RANGE, BRITISH COLUMBIA



By courtesy of

The Canadian Pacific Railway

AUBREY FALLS, MISSISSAGA, ONTARIO

Dominion of Canada a portion, amounting to about 250 acres, of the Vimy Ridge, on which has been erected a stone memorial to the Canadian Army.

How Canada is Governed

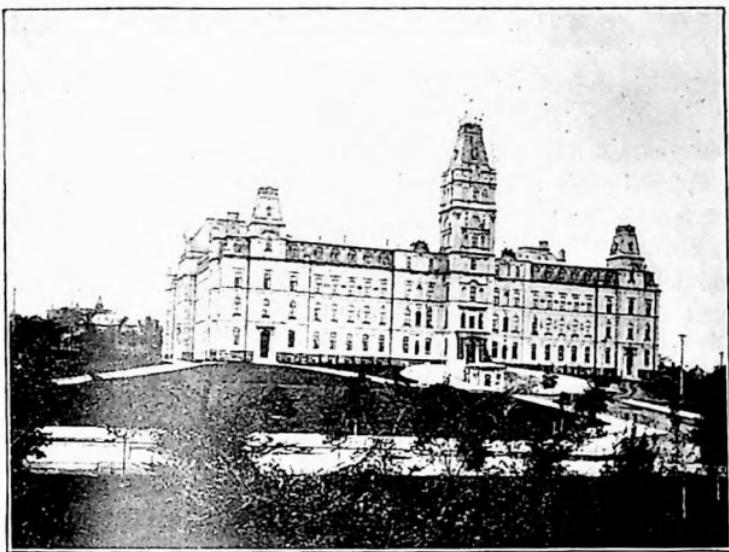
One very important difference exists between the government of Australia and that of Canada. The Commonwealth of Australia consists of several independent states, the government of which is not interfered with by the Commonwealth Parliament. The different parts of the Dominion of Canada are not self-governing states, but provinces which enjoy responsible government while subordinate to the Dominion Government.

The Lieutenant-Governor of each province is appointed and can be dismissed by the Governor-General of Canada, with the approval of his Cabinet. Every Act of the Provincial Parliaments must also be sent to the Governor-General, who has the power to veto it, although this power is seldom exercised.

The provincial judges are also appointed and removed by the Governor-General in Council, and they are paid by the dominion. All canals, lighthouses, harbours, steamboats, military roads, custom-houses, post offices, armouries, rivers, and railways in each province, are either the property of, or under the control of, the Dominion Government.

Subject to these limitations, each province has a Parliament and manages its own affairs. Nova Scotia and Quebec have two Houses of Parliament, the Legislative Council, and the Legislative Assembly. The other provinces have only one House, the Legislative Assembly.

The members of the legislative councils are appointed for life by the Lieutenant-Governor of the province. In Quebec they must be over 30 years of age and possessed of 4,000 dollars in property. The legislative assemblies



PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, QUEBEC



By courtesy of

The Canadian Pacific Railway

ST. CATHERINE STREET WEST, MONTREAL

of each province are elected, every man who has resided six months in British Columbia, one year in Manitoba, or four years in Ontario and Quebec, having a vote.

The Dominion Parliament consists of two chambers, the Senate and the House of Commons. Canada is the only British dominion outside England which calls its popular assembly the House of Commons. This Parliament meets once a year. Members of both the Upper and the Lower House receive 4,000 dollars each session, with travelling expenses. Deductions from their allowances are made for absences.

Members of the Senate are appointed for life by the Governor-General from residents of the different provinces possessed of 4,000 dollars in property, and over 30 years of age. Each province is entitled to a certain number, in proportion to its population. Members of the House of Commons are elected for five years by the people in each province, the numbers for each province being determined in proportion to the population at each census, which is taken every ten years.

The executive government of the dominion resides in the Crown represented by the Governor-General. He has the power of pardoning criminals, summoning and dissolving the House of Commons, appointing or removing the Speaker of the Senate, the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces, and the Judges; but he cannot dissolve the Senate, although he nominates its members. He is assisted by a special Council, called the King's Privy Council for Canada.

Our Oldest Colony

Close to Canada, but outside the dominion, lies our first colony, Newfoundland. It was first discovered by John Cabot in 1497. Shortly after 1500, it became the centre of an extensive fishing industry, and numbers of



By courtesy of

The Canadian Pacific Railway

NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA

Portuguese and French settled there. It became British in 1583. Since 1855 Newfoundland has enjoyed responsible government. Not only has it persistently declined to join the Dominion of Canada, but it stands alone among our colonies for its refusal to pass a law to give effect to a treaty entered into by the Crown with a foreign power. The latter act of independence was modified only when the British Parliament introduced a Bill in 1891 to enforce the treaty, after which the Newfoundland Government gave way.

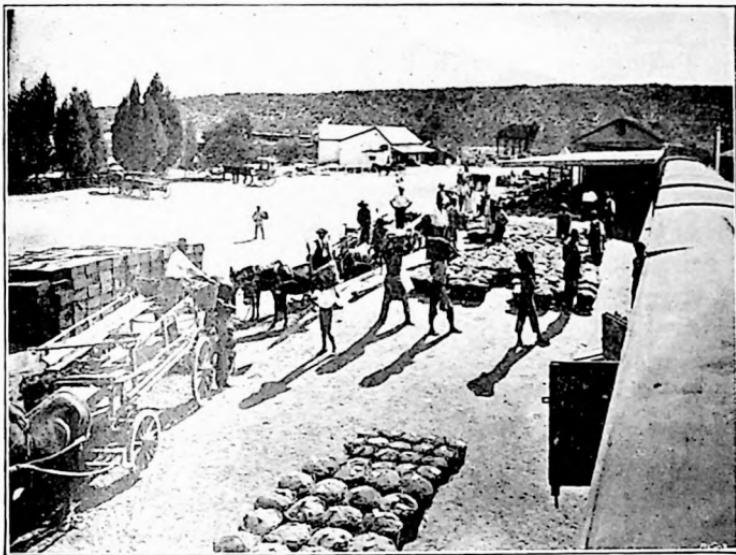
Newfoundland is ruled by a Governor, aided by an Executive Council, with a Legislature of two houses. The governor is appointed from Britain, and presides over an executive council, composed of the members of the Cabinet for the time being. The Legislative Council consists of twenty-four members, who are nominated for life by the governor. The House of Assembly consists of thirty-six members elected by the people, every man having a vote.

The legislature of Newfoundland has supreme power to legislate for the peace, order, and good government of the colony, besides enjoying the power of changing its constitution by an ordinary Act of its Parliament. In spite of the extreme independence of this colony, it is by no means lacking in imperial patriotism, and it makes an annual contribution towards maintaining a branch of the Royal Naval Reserve, and a drill or training ship stationed off its shores.

Of a total population of 260,000, Newfoundland contributed nearly 12,000 men to the fighting forces of the Empire during the Great War, besides another 3,000 who enlisted in Canadian and other forces.

The Union of South Africa

British South Africa is scarcely a hundred years old; yet what marvels civilization has accomplished in that



LOADING GRAPES FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN MARKET



By courtesy of

The High Commissioner for South Africa

PLANTATIONS, NATAL

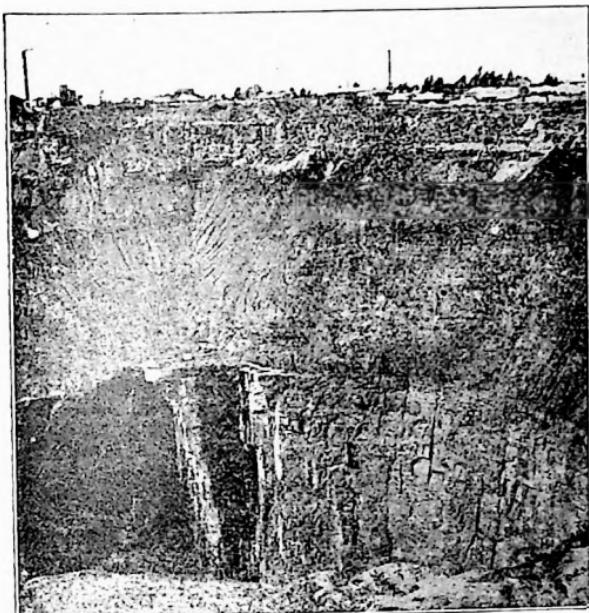
time! Large cities with beautiful buildings now stand where once the savage had his hunting-ground or war-camp; farmers sleep peacefully where the wild beast had his lair. Invalids seek the Cape to restore their health; enterprising men go there to seek careers. It is a new world; but wherever we go, we see the indelible marks of British citizenship in the institutions, the enterprise, and the prosperity of its people.

An area of nearly 800,000 square miles is covered by the group of British Provinces and Protectorates in South Africa. South Africa, like America, has her colour problem. In the table below figures are given showing the numbers of the white and the coloured populations in the various provinces—

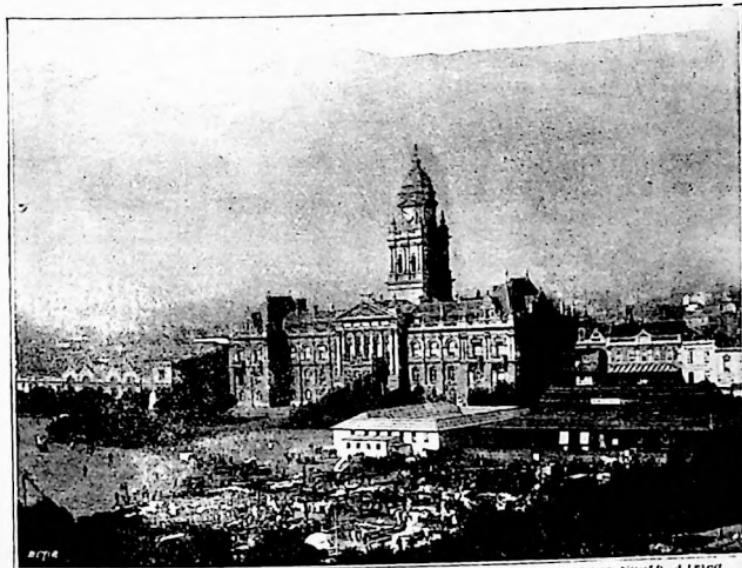
Provinces and Capitals.	CENSUS OF 1921.		
	White.	Coloured (mostly Black).	Total.
Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town) . . .	650,609	2,132,110	2,782,719
Natal (Pietermaritzburg) . . .	136,838	1,292,560	1,429,398
Transvaal (Pretoria) . . .	543,485	1,544,151	2,087,636
Orange Free State (Bloemfontein) . .	188,556	440,271	628,827
South-West Protectorate (Windhuk) . .	19,432	208,307	227,739
	1,538,920	5,617,399	7,156,319

Four of these provinces, the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, were formerly self-governing and independent, but on 31st May, 1910, they became united into one Dominion or Commonwealth, under the name of the Union of South Africa.

The executive is vested in a Governor-General, appointed by the sovereign, and aided by an Executive Council of ten members and a Legislature. The latter consists of a Senate of forty, and a House of Assembly containing 134 elected members, who must be British



KIMBERLEY DIAMOND MINE (840 FEET DEEP)



By courtesy of

The Legal Commissioner for South Africa

CAPETOWN : SHOWING PARADE SALES, THE CITY HALL,
THE HOUT MOUNTAIN

subjects of European descent. The members of the Senate are elected by the Provincial Councils, which are bodies exercising certain local powers in the different provinces of the Union.

Every member of Parliament, except Ministers of State and the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Assembly, is allowed a yearly sum for salary and expenses, but so much is deducted for every day of a session on which he is absent from his duties.

Parliament has to meet once a year, and is summoned and dissolved by the Governor-General. Dutch may be spoken, as well as English, in Parliament. All polls for the House of Assembly are taken on the same day throughout the Union. Cape Town is the seat of Parliament, Pretoria the seat of government.

The Cape of Good Hope is the oldest of the South African provinces, and was acquired during the wars with Napoleon. The youngest of these provinces, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, were acquired as a result of the second Boer War.

The Cape of Good Hope

The settlement of the Cabo de Bôa Esperance was originally administered by the Dutch East India Company, Jan van Riebeeck being the first "Commander," landing in 1652. This control lasted until 1795, when England captured the settlement, and held it till she restored it to Holland in 1802. In 1806 England again took it, and it has remained under the British flag ever since.

The first Parliament established in South Africa was opened at Cape Town in 1854. Real responsible government was granted to Cape Colony in 1872, and the constitution then set up lasted until the Union.

The Cape of Good Hope is represented in the House of



GENERAL VIEW OF PIETERMARITZBURG



By courtesy o

The High Commissioner for South Africa

THE TOWN HALL, DURBAN

Assembly by 51 out of the 134 members. This bears witness to the fact that this province is the most populous of the Union. The qualifications of electors are different from those obtaining in the other three: natives may exercise the franchise, provided that they possess the same minimum qualifications as white men.

The population of the Cape is about 2,800,000, of whom 650,600 are Europeans and over 2,000,000 are coloured.

Natal

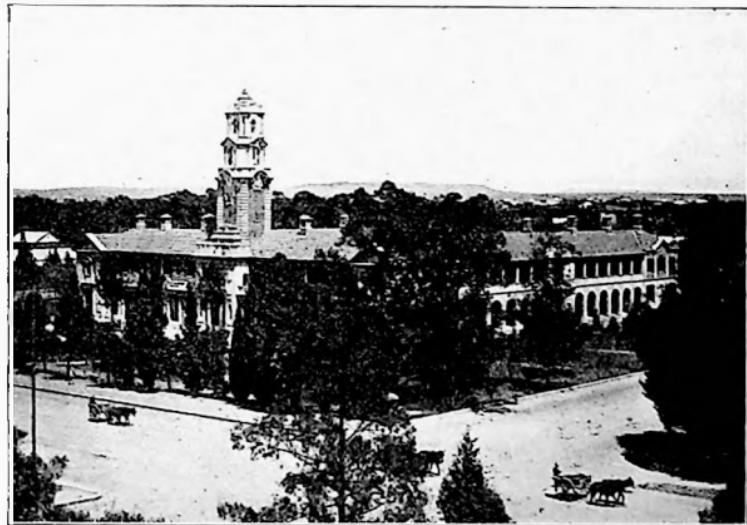
Natal derives its name from the fact that it was discovered on Christmas Day (Latin *Dies Natalis*), 1497, by the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama. The first European settlement was formed in 1824 at the place where Durban now stands, and consisted of a small party of Englishmen. At that time Natal was part of the great Zulu Kingdom. In 1843 it was annexed by the British; in 1856 it became an independent colony, with representative institutions; and in 1893 it became entitled to responsible government.

Natal, like the Orange Free State, is represented in the Union Parliament by seventeen members. The electoral divisions were marked out here, as in all the other provinces, by a commission of four judges, just before the Act of Union came into operation. A "redistribution of seats" takes place every five years, carried out by a commission of three judges as soon after the census as possible, and the new division applies to the next general election.

In this province there is a minimum property qualification which all voters must possess unless they enjoy what is regarded as being at least its equivalent. They must own immovable property to the value of £50, or rent property worth £10 a year, or receive an income of £8 a month. Moreover, they must be white men, for the



UNION BUILDINGS, PRETORIA



By courtesy of

The High Commissioner for South Africa

GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, BLOEMFONTEIN

native laws in Natal are very stringent. It is difficult for a well-to-do, well-conducted native, of long residence in the province, to obtain a voice in the management of even local affairs ; and this applies not merely to Africans, but also to Indians, Malays, and Chinese who have become naturalized. He is required to prove that he has been registered in the province for twelve years, and has been free of the operation of the native laws for seven years ; he then presents a petition to the Governor-General for a certificate of enfranchisement, supported in his application by three European electors and a J.P. or resident magistrate.

Although the population is over one and a half millions, the white residents, who are almost entirely British, number only about one hundred and forty thousand.

The Transvaal

The Transvaal, which means "the territory across the River Vaal," was founded as the South African Republic by parties of Dutch Boers from the English colonies in South Africa, who "trekked" into the interior of the country. It proved to be rich in gold and other valuable minerals, with the result that many foreigners settled there. There was a good deal of racial feeling, of which one result was the Boer War with Great Britain. This was waged with great stubbornness for three years, after which the South African Republic was included within the British Empire.

Responsible government was granted to this new colony in December, 1906. Its Parliament consisted of two Houses. The Upper Chamber, or Legislative Council, had fifteen members, who in the first instance were appointed by the Crown on the nomination of the Governor. They had to be persons over 30 years of age, who had resided in the colony for at least three years.

The Lower House, or Legislative Assembly, consisted of sixty-nine members elected by all the white male population over 21 years of age who had resided in the colony for six months. Both Houses were to sit for five years, and English and Dutch were both allowed to be spoken. Members were paid a salary and an allowance for each day's attendance, not to exceed £300 in any one year; and a new registration of voters and distribution of seats was to take place every two years.

In 1910 this constitution was abrogated, and the Transvaal is now one of the states of the Union, sending forty-nine members to the House of Assembly.

As an instance of the amicable fusion of the Boers and the British after the war, it ought to be mentioned that in the first general elections for the Legislative Assembly the "Het Volk" party, that is, the party representing the old Dutch settlers, and the one most anxious to secure responsible government, were successful at the poll, and General Louis Botha, the capable leader and for some time the Commander-in-Chief of the Boers in the war, became the first Prime Minister of the colony.

It is a remarkable tribute to the success of our relations with South Africa that not only General Botha but General Smuts, who succeeded the former as Prime Minister, became staunch supporters of Great Britain, although they fought against her with might and main in the Boer War of 1899-1902. When the Great War broke out in 1914, General Botha became Commander-in-Chief of the South African Forces which fought against the Germans in Africa, while General Smuts was his next in command.

The Orange Free State

The republic of the Orange Free State was founded by Dutch farmers, who began to "trek" from Cape Colony

in 1836. From 1848 to 1854 the country was administered by a British Resident, but Great Britain abandoned her sovereignty in the latter year and the state once more became a republic. During the second Boer War the British Government again annexed the territory, which was at first placed under military administration. In 1902 a constitution forming it into a Crown Colony was arranged ; this was replaced in 1907 by a full responsible government, permitting the "Orange River Colony," as it was now called, to manage its own affairs under a governor appointed by the Home Government, and this later constitution lasted until the Act of Union came into force in 1910.

Every white male British subject who is of age, and who has been a bona fide resident in the province for at least six months during the three years immediately preceding the revision of the electoral register, is entitled to a vote : that is to say, virtually the principle of manhood suffrage is recognized ; there is no property qualification required. Of course, the usual disfranchisements are enforced, such as that which deprives recently released convicts of their voice in the government ; it was arranged, however, that this deprivation should not apply to political offenders convicted of treason before the signing of the Peace of Pretoria on 31st May, 1902. In all respects, except the number of representatives in the Union House of Assembly, which depends on relative population, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State are on the same footing.

Rhodesia

This territory was named after Cecil Rhodes, the founder of the British South Africa Company. The total area is about 440,000 square miles, and the population is about 1,750,000. Until recently Rhodesia was administered under a charter granted to the British South Africa

Company; but in 1923 Southern Rhodesia was granted Responsible Government, and the company was relieved of the administration of Northern Rhodesia in 1924. Instead of an administrator and council nominated by the Chartered Company, there is now for each of these



BRITISH RESIDENT MAGISTRATE OF RHODESIA ON A ROUND OF VISITS TO NATIVE VILLAGES AND CHIEFS BY CANOE ON THE ZAMBEZI

divisions a Governor appointed by the Crown, with an Executive Council.

A large portion of Northern Rhodesia was first opened to British influence by the explorer-missionary David Livingstone, and the greater part of it is occupied by native tribes ruled by their own chief. Large tracts, however, are now being opened for European settlement. Both territories are rich in natural resources, containing valuable mineral deposits, large forests, and a fertile soil, and agriculture and industry are increasing rapidly.

South West Protectorate

This territory, which before the Great War was German South West Africa, is administered under mandate as a part of the Union of South Africa. Although actually the Governor-General is in supreme authority, he has delegated most of his powers to an Administrator appointed by the Union Government. The capital is Windhoek, which is practically in the centre of the country.

The climate is dry, rain falling only in thunderstorms, and very little agriculture is undertaken at present. The soil is very fertile in the greater part of the territory, and, as several irrigation schemes are now in hand, it is expected that agricultural production will become very much greater. Mining and stock-raising are the principal activities. Horse-breeding is also carried on successfully. Most of the revenue of the country is derived from the diamond fields of Luderitz. Animals, especially game, are in great abundance.

How the Dominions are Represented in London

The self-governing dominions are represented in London by High Commissioners, all of whom have held high office in their respective colonies. Many of the constituent states and provinces of the dominions have representatives of their own, who are called Agents-General.

The High Commissioners are consulted by the Home Government on all important matters affecting their dominion. To some extent, they stand in a similar relation to the Colonial Secretary as the ambassadors and ministers of other countries do to the Foreign Secretary. They also collect and supply trustworthy information relating to the trade and commerce of the dominion they represent.

Some of you may one day wish to emigrate to one of the dominions. If so, you should go to the High Commissioners or Agents-General ; for besides looking after all the interests of their respective countries, and those colonials who happen to be travelling in England, they assist emigrants by advice and information ; they also, in some cases, give them special emigrant tickets at reduced fares.

PROBLEMS

1. Write an essay on the attractions and the disadvantages of life in the colonies.
2. What is meant by " Imperial Preference " ? Supposing this came into operation, write notes on how it would work.
3. Do you think it fair to the African coloured races in British territory to exclude them from a share in government ? Give your views as fully as possible.
4. It has often been remarked that, because so many of our agricultural people emigrate to the overseas dominions, Great Britain herself is losing men and women she can ill afford to spare. Discuss this in detail.
5. What is the difference in prospects of a young man emigrating to Canada or Australia and a young unmarried woman going under similar conditions ?
6. Write a detailed account showing how any one of our colonies came into British possession and introducing the chief characters concerned.
7. Find out and explain exactly what is meant by each of the following terms : Conquest, cession, treaty cession, annexation, settlement ; and from pages 186 and 187 make an analysis showing which British dominions were acquired by these several methods.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CROWN COLONIES

Colonies with Elective or Partly Elective Legislatures

WE have now learnt something of the greater British dominions, or "sister nations," as they are sometimes called, beyond the seas. Our other colonies may be divided into four groups, according to the rights and privileges of citizenship which are granted to them. First among these groups come those colonies which possess a House of Assembly or House of Commons elected by the people, although, unlike the great self-governing dominions or colonies, they do not possess responsible government.

Barbados is typical of this kind of colony. For more than two hundred years it has elected its own House of Assembly, and thus has some measure of representative government. The Crown appoints the Legislative Council, and the Governor exercises a veto on all legislation, and controls and nominates public officers. The Bahamas and the Bermudas enjoy similar institutions.

The Colonial Office describes a Crown Colony as one "in which the Crown has the entire control of legislation, while the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the Home Government." This, however, is only partly true of the colonies of which we have just spoken.

There is another type of colony, in which the elective principle is in partial operation only; of this Jamaica is a good example. Here the people elect three-fifths of the Legislative Council, the remaining two-fifths being

nominated by the Governor, who also has a Privy Council of about eight members to assist him. This is the nearest approach to a popular assembly that can be granted to the island ; we must not forget, however, that Jamaica once enjoyed representative institutions like Barbados, and that they were only taken away after several rebellions had been quelled. The Leeward Islands are somewhat similarly governed.

Two other large islands in a different part of the world come under this group of colonies ; Mauritius, where French is the prevailing language, and Malta, where Italian is the popular tongue. The first of these possesses a Governor, an Executive Council, and a Legislative Council of twenty-seven members, of whom about ten are elected by the people.

One of the most peculiar features of Maltese citizenship is that there is no right of public meeting. You will remember that we noticed at the beginning of this book what a great privilege is this right. In Malta, if you wish to hold a public meeting, you must give notice to the police ; and a great deal of fuss is often made before permission is given. Even then, no procession will be allowed to take place to or from the meeting. The chief reason for this is that the people of Malta are very excitable, and religious feeling is very fervent ; hence any differences of opinion expressed very warmly might lead to serious disturbances of the peace.

British Guiana is another colony possessing a single legislative chamber which is only partly elective. The Government of this prosperous colony is conducted by the Governor and a Court of Policy. Half the members of this court are appointed by the Crown ; the other half are selected from persons proposed by the college of Kiezers, or electors, which is a body elected by the people principally for this purpose.

Colonies Without Elective Legislatures

A third group of Crown colonies consists of those which are ruled by a Governor and a council of the principal inhabitants, nominated by the Crown through the Governor. The most important colonies of this group are Ceylon, Hong Kong, Sierra Leone, Fiji, the Gold Coast, and the Straits Settlements.

In the Straits Settlements a few of the members of the Legislative Council are elected by the chambers of commerce at Singapore and Penang. In Ceylon all the native races are represented in the councils of the colony, but the members are not elected by the people they represent. They are selected by the Crown through the Governor.

In Hong Kong at least two Chinese members sit upon the Legislative Council. Here the Oriental takes the oath in his own peculiar way. Perhaps you have seen it done in some police court when a Chinese has been charged with an offence or is standing in the witness-box.

A saucer is placed in his hand and he is obliged to break it. Then the oath is administered to him through an interpreter in these words: "You shall tell the truth and the whole truth. The saucer is cracked, and if you do not tell the truth, your soul will be cracked like the saucer." Sometimes, instead of the saucer, a lighted candle is placed in the Chinese's hand. He then blows it out, believing that if he does not tell the truth, his soul will go out with the light.

Not the least interesting colonies of this class are those which lie scattered in the vast Pacific Ocean. Of these, Fiji is perhaps the most important and characteristic. Fiji consists of two large islands and about 225 smaller ones. Each of the two large islands is under an English Commissioner; the others are grouped into fourteen provinces ruled by native chiefs. Over them all is a

council representing each of these divisions, and presided over by the Governor, who is styled "His Majesty's High Commissioner and Consul-General" for the Western Pacific.

The fourth group of Crown colonies are ruled entirely by a Governor, assisted by a secretary, a judge, and other



HONG KONG : ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST
BEAUTIFUL HARBOURS

British officials. The Governor of such colonies, like Gibraltar, Labuan, and St. Helena, is practically an absolute monarch, and makes laws himself, subject to the control of the Colonial Office. In certain cases the Governor has complete and sole authority as in Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Zululand in South Africa.

Self-Governing Parts of the British Isles

Very close to the English shores, a few miles from the south and west coasts, are two groups of islands, which are not colonies, but enjoy self-government in different forms. British Acts of Parliament do not apply to these islands, unless they are specially mentioned.

The first of these possessions is called the "Channel Islands," and consists of four islands, Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark. The last two islands are under the control of Guernsey. In Jersey and Guernsey there is a Governor, who is appointed by the Crown; but each state has its own legislature and executive. The legislature is called "The States," some of the members of which are elected by the people, while others are nominated by the Crown. Each island has a bailiff nominated by the Crown and twelve jurats elected for life by the electors.

The states of Jersey can make laws without the royal assent, but the Governor must agree to them, and they can last three years only.

The other of these possessions is the Isle of Man. This island enjoys Home Rule, subject to the control of the Home Office, and of the Treasury on matters of Finance. It has been bought and sold century after century. At one period of its history it was owned by the Danes, who sold it to the King of Scotland. Then it was purchased by several English nobles, one after the other, until at last the Duke of Atholl sold it to the British Government, which allowed it to retain its ancient form of government.

It is ruled by the court of Tynwald, which consists of two chambers, the Council and the House of Keys. The first is composed of the Governor, the Bishop, the deemsters or judges, and other officers nominated by the Crown, except the Vicar-General, who is nominated by the Bishop. The House of Keys is elected by the people;

everyone (including unmarried women and widows) who owns or rents property of the value of £4 may vote.

How We Govern India

The lowest unit of Indian life is the village community, which still retains its old customs much as it did thousands of years ago. For the purposes of government all the villages in British India are grouped together into districts, of which there are two hundred and fifty-nine. At the head of each district is the Collector, or, as he is called in the smaller provinces, the Deputy Commissioner. He is responsible for good government in his district, and he has to see that all the taxes are paid, that all the laws and regulations are obeyed, and that the sentences of the judges are carried out. He also acts as a magistrate, and has many officials under him.

Except in Bengal and Burma, a district is divided for convenience into sub-districts or *taluks*, in charge of a *tahsildar*, who is always a native, and usually one who has obtained a degree at a university. In this way, educated natives are given a chance to exercise authority, and the people are given confidence in the government, and opportunities as well as aspirations to become gradually self-governing.

All the districts in the larger provinces, except Madras, are grouped into divisions, each of which is in charge of a Commissioner, through whose hands pass all the letters and reports of district officers to the central government. There are fifty-three divisions in British India, and under these there are no fewer than a thousand local boards or committees to look after primary education, roads, and dispensaries. The number of members on these boards is about sixteen thousand, of whom over five thousand are elected.

In the large towns great powers are given to local elected

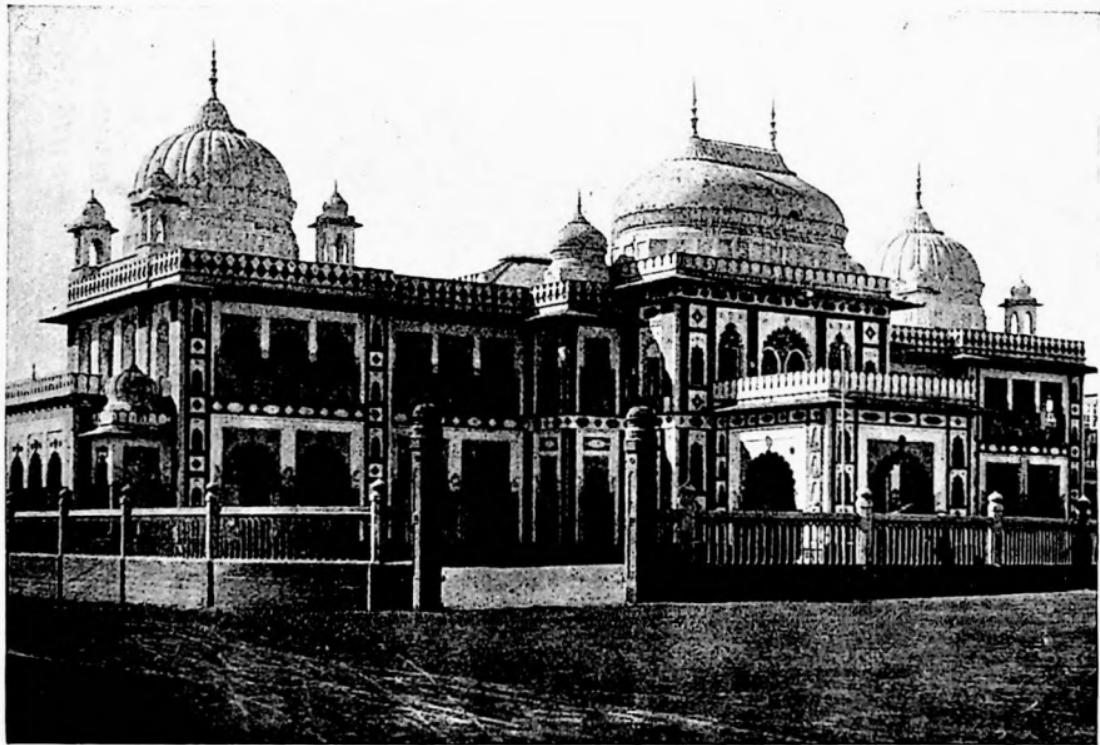
bodies. The water supply, the drainage, the lighting of the streets, and the levying of local rates or taxes are in the hands of the municipalities, of which there are eight hundred, and upon which no less than nine thousand natives hold office. The municipal affairs of Calcutta are governed by fifty commissioners, of whom seven-tenths are elected by the ratepayers and public bodies. Bombay and Madras are similarly governed, but the proportion of elected commissioners is not quite so large. Rangoon, the capital of Burma, manages her city affairs by a board of twenty-five members, only three of whom are officials. Even the smaller cities possess similar municipal institutions.

Over all these local bodies and divisions is the administration of the provinces, which number fourteen. Two of them, Madras and Bombay, are called presidencies, and are ruled by governors appointed in England. The governors are assisted by legislative councils, consisting of not less than eight nor more than twenty members; these are nominated by the governor from lists which are open to the public, so that all suitable persons who are deemed worthy of the honour may be placed upon the lists. This brings the legislatures into closer relations with the best representatives of public opinion, and affords opportunities for interchange of views.

Five provinces, Bengal, the United Provinces, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Punjab, and Burma, are under Lieutenant-Governors appointed by the Viceroy, but they also have legislative councils. The remaining seven provinces are under chief commissioners.

Besides these provinces of British India, there are several independent states which are really protectorates, but they are mentioned here because they come under the influence and sway of the Indian Government.

These states and their people remain under native



THE HIGH SCHOOL, BHAVNAGAR, INDIA ; A TYPICAL INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING

rulers, but their princes have no power to make war or peace or to send ambassadors to other countries or states. At the court of each of these native chiefs is an English official or adviser, who is generally called the "Resident." He looks after all British affairs, particularly those connected with commerce, posts, telegraphs, railways, and education. He also sees that the native chief governs well.

The Viceroy and His Council

Over all of these provincial and native governments is the Viceroy, who acts as the representative of our King, and is appointed by the British Government for a period of about five years. This office is the most responsible, trustworthy, and important that can fall to the lot of any British citizen. It requires the greatest tact, skill in finance, and understanding of different races of men and their peculiarities, as well as that dignity and power of command so necessary to secure respect and obedience among Oriental peoples.

The Viceroy and Governor-General is assisted in the work of government by a special council consisting of the heads of the various Indian departments, who hold seats in the council for five years, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, who is called an "extraordinary" member.

He is also assisted by a Legislative Council like our Parliament, in which laws are discussed and passed by the heads of the state departments and a number of native representatives. The meetings of this Legislative Council are public, so that the Indian peoples can always know what is being discussed, and what views their representatives and the officials take of every proposal.

You will have noticed that India is governed in a very special way. This is the nearest approach to popular

government which is at present suitable for the inhabitants of this country. The peoples of India worship different gods, and, as they hate each other's religions, they frequently indulge in fighting. At present, if the firm and wise controlling hand of Britain were withdrawn there would be continual strife between the Mohammedans and the Brahmins. Even to-day, during the times of their great religious festivals, they cannot always be restrained from attacking each other.

The British Government has constructed railways, opened schools, and encouraged the growth and development of the Press ; and in these ways has tried to bring together the different peoples of India, to prepare them for a more representative government some day.

Chartered Companies

There are some tracts of British territory under the rule of chartered companies.

The northern part of Borneo is one of these. The British North Borneo Company appoints a Civil Service and a Governor, the latter being subject to the approval of the Crown. There is a native military force of 800 men under European officers.

Protectorates

Protectorates are countries or states, which, while not under the direct rule of Britain, are more or less under its influence, and their foreign relations are conducted or controlled by the British Government. Such a state is Sarawak, on the north-west coast of Borneo, which is ruled by an Englishman, Rajah H. H. Charles Brooke.

His ancestor, James Brooke, landed on these shores in 1842, when the country was harassed by pirates and oppressed by its native ruler, and placing himself at the

head of the people, he led them to victory against both their ruler and the pirates. The grateful natives have ever since been content to live under the wise rule of their English Rajahs, the Brookes. Their government is really an absolute monarchy, and so is that of the native Sultan of Brunei or Borneo Proper, which has also been a British protectorate since 1888.

Forms of government differ widely in the various countries under British protection. Bida, in Northern Nigeria, is particularly interesting, because it possesses a constitution based upon representative principles, although somewhat different from our own. It has an Emir or King, a Council of Princes or House of Lords, and a Council of Commoners or House of Commons.

The Council of Princes consists of a selected number of members of the royal family. The Emir himself has to reach his position by serving in the different ranks of this Council until, at a good age, he reaches the position of heir-apparent, from which he succeeds to the Emirate. Then he appoints his heir from among those members of the Council of Princes whose fathers have been Emirs before him; but there is little chance of his own son being selected, because, as the father has only just reached the top, the son will naturally be a long way down the ladder.

The Council of Commons consists of the *Waziri* (or Prime Minister), the chief warrior, the chief medicine-man, and the highest officers of the Emir's household, who are appointed in a similar manner. The strangest thing about this remarkable state is that the Prime Minister ranks as the second man in the state, and before the heir-apparent.

The British Empire always recognizes good government when it finds it, and, consequently, rather than send out many British magistrates, rules as much as possible

through the native chiefs, who are encouraged to govern well.

The terms "Sphere of Influence" and "Mandatory Sphere" call for mention here. The former denotes an area in which no powers other than British may attempt to obtain influence or territory by treaty or annexation. There are such British spheres in the Persian Gulf and in Arabia. A "Mandatory Sphere" is an area in which a power is delegated by the League of Nations to ensure good government and a development of the country's natural resources. Such spheres for which Great Britain is responsible in this way are parts of the former German colonies in West Africa and the former Turkish Governments of Palestine and Mesopotamia.

Patriotism and the Empire

We have spoken of the greatness of our Empire and its citizen institutions. We are proud of our freedom, our wealth, and our greatness; but all of these are the result of strenuous effort, and they cannot last one day longer than the character which creates them.

With the acquisition of wealth and greatness there is every temptation to luxury and laziness. The Babylonians, the Greeks, and the Romans at the height of their greatness allowed themselves to fall into these habits, and —where are they to-day? So may it be with our own great Empire unless we learn the lesson of the past, and avoid the evils which resulted in the ruin of those ancient empires.

Patriotism is a noble and a right feeling. It is right and natural that we should love our parents, our brothers and sisters and our family. In the same way it is right and natural that we should love our country, which has done so much for freedom and peace all over the world: that we should respect our government, without which we

should not have a life or any property to call our own ; that we should love our institutions, which have been built up for us by the energies, the labour and the life-blood of our forefathers ; and that we should love our flag, the Union Jack, under which our soldiers and sailors have fought to secure peace and glory for us abroad, and which, wherever it has floated, has been the symbol of freedom and justice.

All this we can do without giving offence to the people of other countries, who also have *their* national flag and institutions, which are equally dear to them. There have been times when people spoke disrespectfully of foreigners, stared rudely at them in the streets, and belittled their language and government. There is no excuse for such habits nowadays, when there are so many opportunities of travel and coming into contact with foreigners and learning all about them. There are people in every land who love freedom and justice, who have their citizen rights and perform their citizen duties, although such rights and duties may not be so many or quite the same as ours. We should always remember, then, to do justice to foreigners, as we should like them to do justice to us.

The war of 1914-18 had far-reaching consequences that will be felt for many years to come. It nearly ruined the countries that were formerly known as the Central Empires, while the victorious Allies also incurred heavy and profitless expenditure. In every European country trade languished and unemployment was rife. National morals were relaxed in many ways, and crime increased alarmingly. This was nothing new, however, for similar consequences have followed almost every war known to history.

One of the greatest of all problems is how to avoid war, which is so useless and destructive. This problem has exercised the minds of various men for over three

centuries. The idea of a League of Perpetual Peace was first put forward by the Duc de Sully, and was revived by William Penn, the Abbe de Saint-Pierre, Rousseau, and Kant. Now, in the twentieth century, we see a further revival under the title of the "League of Nations."

International Understanding

Great Britain is an island country in the geographical sense only; in reality, her island security has passed away for ever. In these days of rapid locomotion by land, sea, and air, the countries of Europe and Great Britain are, more nearly than ever, next-door neighbours; although, like many next-door neighbours, they are not always as friendly as they might be. There are streams of international trade from country to country, indicated by the complicated network of railway and shipping routes all over the world. People are travelling more than ever, and meeting people of other lands in business and social intercourse.

This has already done much to dispel international prejudice. There is still, however, a great need for international understanding and toleration. If nations are to avoid disastrous wars, some such form of international government as that embodied in the principles of the League of Nations must be adopted *and practised* by all the nations of the world.

PROBLEMS

1. Consult an atlas and pages 186, 187 of this book, and make a list of British overseas dominions, dependencies, protectorates, etc.—
 - (1) In order of their areas.
 - (2) In order of their populations.
 - (3) In order of their commercial importance to the Empire.
2. Since Gibraltar has an area of only two square miles, wherein lies its great value to Great Britain?
3. Great Britain has several tiny overseas possessions that are

little more than bare rocks ; give examples of such places and say to what use they are put.

4. Compare the methods of government in New Zealand, Jamaica, Hong Kong, Isle of Man, and Sarawak, in such a way as to show—

- (a) How far the people of the country make their own laws.
- (b) How far they are governed from Great Britain.

(c) That, usually, the right of a people to legislate for itself (subject to a proper respect for the welfare of the Empire) depends upon its ability to do so wisely.

5. Some people have declared that no nation has a right to appropriate another's country, either by conquest or by peaceful penetration.

Say what you think of this opinion, and give your reasons for so thinking.

6. Name some of the benefits that British colonists have conferred on uncultivated races.

7. Write an essay on Imperial Patriotism.



